ARMENIANS, KOORDS, AND TURKS.

BY

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ETC.

"A man is killed in Paris it is a murder The throats of fifty thousand people are cut in the East, and it is a question."—VICTOR HUGO

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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INTRODUCTION.

HAVING frequently visited Asia Minor, and having resided in Armenia for nearly a year, the condition of their inhabitants is to my mind a subject of the most interesting contemplation.

In this opinion I have considered that it was worth while publishing the following volumes, as perhaps they may assist in throwing some light on a question each day attracting more and more attention; and in the future likely to become a problem of vital importance.

Anyone is capable of forming notions about subjects the discussion of which he is constantly listening to; and as I have eyes and ears and no prejudices; and as—resulting from a residence among them of many years—I have some knowledge of Orientals: of their re-

ligions; of their prejudices; and of their peculiar modes of thought so different from ours: I am induced to offer these pages to the public.

The Armenians are a high-bred race of the purest Caucasian type; and as blood always tells in men as well as in animals, they still survive, and not only survive, but display symptoms of a steadily-increasing vitality, which is altogether marvellous when we consider the frightful vicissitudes through which they have passed; the long-continued oppression under which they have groaned for centuries; and the cruel persecutions by which they have been driven to the most distant parts of the earth.

The fables of remote antiquity, as well as both ancient and modern history, point to Armenia as the battlefield of the world. Never has a country been more often or more completely devastated; and the names of all the great conquerors or scourges of mankind are associated with it.

Most of the mongrel tribes—who, at different periods, annihilated ancient forms of govern-

ment and civilisation in these fertile provinces—have merged with other races, become improved, or been lost; but the melancholy and hook-nosed Armenian is unaltered and uncontaminated.

The fine breed—like that of the patient and intellectual Jew—is, perhaps by the direct interposition of an all-seeing Providence, miraculously preserved; and this ancient and classical people, inhabiting a beloved fatherland, towards which the eyes of their countrymen from every part of the world are turned with a hopefulness, generosity, and sympathy equally sublime and touching, at length believe that a crisis in their misfortunes has arrived.

Although much has been written about the Armenians, till quite recently at least they were altogether unknown to the great majority of Englishmen. For that reason, and in the hope that my labours may not be found altogether uninteresting, I have been induced to attempt an historical sketch of those people.

Some knowledge of their antiquity, as well as of their connection with the Romans and other

conquering races, will add, I believe, to the interest at present growing up with regard to their actual condition; and in this opinion I have consulted all the works treating of Armenia (whether by native authors or not) on which I could lay hands.

Sometimes in support of an opinion, and sometimes with a view to give a clear idea to the reader, I have made quotations from books not always very easily procurable.

The rapidly-declining power of the Ottoman Turks is at the present hour causing alarm and uneasiness on the one hand, and encouraging ambition and fostering intrigues on the other. Both Turkey and Persia are doomed to fall; and neither of them, except as vassal or protected states, can last much longer.

Only three hundred years ago, the Ottoman Turks appeared on the point of becoming altogether irresistible; for Europe at that period was not in a condition to have defended itself against such a naval and military power as would most probably have been possessed by the Ottomans, had the adventurous and exten-

sive plans of Soliman the Magnificent been carried into execution.

Few people have either time or inclination to read through Von Hammer's seventeen volumes of the "History of the Ottoman Turks." Their career, however, is closely bound up with the Armenian question; and as to understand the one, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the other—I have briefly traced the policy of the Ottoman Turks from the time of their first appearance when they seem to have closely resembled a horde of Koords at the present day, till their mature growth into a great military power, so sagaciously founded as in a comparatively short time to grind all its subjects under one of the most fanatical and illiberal despotisms that was ever invented.

Their military institutions were so perfect, and contrast so favourably with the tactics and discipline of European armies, that this undoubted superiority was acknowledged and lamented by every military writer of that period acquainted with Turkish troops.

All the maxims of Turkish policy inculcated

a blind and implicit obedience to authority; and as everything bowed before it, individuality was completely crushed out of the nation. The effects of this cruel discipline formed the national character, which even now presents the good as well as the evil qualities of such severity.

It makes the Turks, when properly dealt with and fairly treated, the finest soldiers in the world. Docile, good-tempered, sober, and heroic, there are no officers who have commanded them who do not love them.

General Jomini, in his "Art of War," recommends the commander to use as much as he can the religious enthusiasm of his men. The Turkish Government know as well as General Jomini that it is a powerful agent, and they accordingly seldom fail to work upon it. When his fanaticism is raised, the Turk is as barbarous as his ancestors under Timour the Tartar; and there is no atrocity of which he is not capable.

He freely massacres the wounded. Even the death of the misbeliever does not satisfy him; and he loves to hack up his corpse or to chop

the head off. On the other hand, when held in proper control, the Turk in the hour of victory can be as quiet as an Irishman after a faction fight.

If in the army everything depends upon the disposition of its commanders, the temper and strength of the Turkish Government entirely influences the conduct of its Mahommedan subjects, whose fanaticism can be either allayed, or, if necessary, worked into blind and ferocious enthusiasm.

If the Turk is intolerant and fanatical, he is certainly not more so than his Christian neighbours; and both one and the other have been equally unrelenting and cruel.

In the following volumes I have not thought it misplaced to give a sketch of the history of the Crusaders, their folly, bigotry, and deceit. The ignorant and unthinking masses were worked into religious fury; but diplomacy, while encouraging this fanaticism, equally ridiculous and criminal, cared not so much about the Holy Sepulchre as about territorial aggrandisement.

Are there still among us men as fanatical as the Crusaders? If purely philanthropical sentiments animated the wrath with which so many right-reverend and wrong-reverend gentlemen railed against the Turks, where, oh! where was their humanity when the unhappy Mussulmans were being slaughtered without mercy, and their women outraged, under the supervision of reverend gentlemen of the Bulgarian nationality?

Since the time of the Crusaders down to the present hour, the Turks have every reason to hate the Christians, who, whether by force or intrigue, have always tried to injure them. In the middle ages, the Christians have been better treated by the Turks than ever the latter were by the former when they were strong enough to ill-use them; and the Mussulman religion, in practice, has often been more tolerant than ours.

The animosities of centuries cannot be cooled in a day; but the Turks, and it is quite natural that they should do so, both detest and fear their Christian neighbours. All Christian in-

terference in their affairs, no matter how well-intentioned, is hated and suspected.

The Turks loathe the Christians by tradition, and, so to say, by nature; but they are well aware that these hostile sentiments are returned; and that the pretended protection of Christians is the cause of all Russian interference in the affairs of their country.

To soften, or at least to take the sting out of this rancour, would be the solution of the Eastern Question; for such a settlement of the difficulty would put a stop to Russian intrigues.

The Turkish Government being weak and corrupt, contains all the necessary ingredients for its final and irretrievable ruin. It fears the Christians; and consequently its maxim has ever been, for the sake of its own preservation, to keep them down.

Nothing, except actual compulsion, will ever force the Turks to change this illiberal policy; and whenever they appear to make alterations in it, by such reforms as have been promised at the time of Baker Pasha's recent appointment for instance, we may be quite sure that they have

no meaning, and that if any ameliorations are made in the condition of the Armenians, that they will only be carried out in a half-hearted manner, almost tantamount to leaving things as they are.

Whether the new states on the Lower Danube can stand alone or not is very doubtful; but as they have been finally cut loose from both Turkish rule and Russian intrigue, they must, if incapable of governing themselves, fall into the grasp of Austria.

The creation of Armenia into an independent kingdom is an Eutopia which even the Armenians themselves would not be foolish enough to propose.

The Armenian Question must nevertheless be considered; and that important problem consists in whether the Turks are to be forced by England—for unless forced by England they will never do it—to place their Armenian and Mussulman subjects on a footing of perfect equality, or whether the territories inhabited by those people are to fall into the hands of Russia.

Before long the question must be solved in one way or the other.

It is a question, notwithstanding the apathy with which it is generally regarded, of great importance to England; for these countries lie on the road to India, and if allowed to fall under the rule of Russia, will exercise a powerful influence on the inevitable collision sooner or later to take place between the Cossack and the Sepoy.

Having travelled in Bulgaria, as well as in Armenia, I am of opinion that no comparison can be made between the inhabitants of those countries. The Bulgarians, a stupid and heavy race, *had nothing much* to complain of; while on the contrary, the devastation of the plains of Alishkird, mentioned in the following volumes, is no more than an episode in Armenian life.

Although far removed from the seat of war, similar horrors were being enacted both at Moush and at Van, as well as in other parts of Armenia, at the same time.

The reports of missionaries; of consuls; as well as those of travellers who have passed any

time in the country; all show even up to the most recent reports sent home to us from those provinces, that the condition of the Armenians is absolutely intolerable; and that all progress, well-being, or security is perfectly out of the question, until a check is put upon the license, rapacity, and violence of the lawless and brutal Koords.

In Armenia there is neither security for life nor property. Whole districts of excellent land lie completely uncultivated; and so great is the tyranny exercised upon the inhabitants, that they long for any kind of government under which they may hope for security and peace.

Who is to bring them these blessings? It is a question which must be answered.

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ARMENIANS, KOORDS, AND TURKS.



CHAPTER I.

ANCIENT ARMENIA.

Purity and Antiquity of the Armenian Race.—The Ancient Language.—Its Difference from the Modern Tongue.—Armenian Mythology.—Literature.—Ancient Worship.—Its Extent in Ancient Times.—Armenian Kings.—Pompey.—Mark Antony.—Armenia the Battlefield of the World.—Moses of Khorene.—Greek and Syrian Histories.

CHAPTER I.

ANCIENT ARMENIA.

The Armenians pretend to be the oldest type of the human species; and their large eyes and mouths, long noses and dark olive complexions —peculiarities which, like the Jews, they have retained with stubborn constancy, and in spite of the terrible vicissitudes, dispersions, or persecutions they have undergone—stamp them as a distinct and high-bred race.

Their country was once powerful and glorious. Solitary ruins, silent and deserted, speak of past greatness; and the wonderful remains of the dead city of Ani, in the plain of Kars, is an imperishable monument of the wealth, address,

and enterprise of fallen grandeur, as well as of the instability of human institutions.

They have two languages: the ancient and modern Armenian tongues, which differ so completely that a person well versed in the one would be entirely ignorant of the other; and perhaps it may be taken as some proof of the great antiquity of the race that the language of no other people in the world—not even that of the Greeks—is equally dissimilar from that of their ancestors.

The ancient Armenian is richer than the Greek of the same period; and it is so pliable and applicable to every kind of translation, that if, for instance, the "Anabasis" of Xenophon was lost, it might be almost exactly restored again to the Greek from the Armenian rendering.

Armenia is connected with the primeval history of man, and the legends of mythology, as well as the Bible, declare it to be the spot from which the great modern nations originally wandered. Like all ancient histories, those of the Armenians are hardly worthy of serious attention. They declare that the present in-

hȧbitants of the country are descended from a certain Haik, who was a grandson of Japhet, the son of Noah, and that for that reason the country was called the land of Haik. The modern name of Armenia was given to it by foreigners, from that of a certain King Aram, who was of course, according to these fairy tales, the terror of the world.

No people in the East have given so much attention to history as the Armenians; and although on the introduction into the country of Christianity all Armenian books were burned, the monastery of Echmiadzin was found to contain a series of documents dating from the very earliest times. Here had been buried for centuries upwards of fifty chronicles and histories; and although the greater part of them have never been translated, the labours of Messrs. Langlois and St. Martin give very succinct accounts 'of the Persian and Mogul invasions; and throw a new light on the state of the East during the middle ages.

Mar Apas Catina, a Syrian by birth, was, under instructions received from the Armenian

kings, sent to Nineveh, in order to search for records of the Armenian race. So successful were his endeavours that he at last found a very ancient work bearing the inscription: "This book was, by order of Alexander the Macedonian, translated from Chaldean into Greek, and contains the history of the first ancestors." From this celebrated manuscript, Mar Apas Catina only extracted the records of Armenia; but, says he, "the history of our satraps is prolonged in the book as far back as Sardanapalus of the Chaldeans, and even longer."

As this historian mentions the tyranny exercised by the Couchans in Armenia, it shows the great age of the composition from which he gleaned the sources of his information, because, according to the Biblical account, as well as according to the statements of the most ancient Parsee writings, there existed on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, and in a prehistoric time, a non-Semitic people called Coushans or Coushites.

Mar Apas Catina gives a very circumstantial

account of the building of the remarkable town of Van, as well as of those marvellous works in its neighbourhood, which, although carried out by the orders of Semiramis, are still, in their ruined condition, an object of wonder and curiosity to the modern traveller. The celebrated Nebuchadnezzar is mentioned, and the account given of the fate of the sons of Senacherib corroborates not only the Bible, but also the fragments of Berosus as they have been preserved in Eusebius.

Previous to the introduction of Christianity the Armenians adored—in common with the Medes and the Persians--some of those vile gods so often alluded to in the books of the Old Testament. Every abomination that the depraved appetites and enervated passions of the priesthood could suggest was practised at these shrines, and even the blushing virgin, terrified at her imaginary sins, sacrificed her virtue for the propitiation of these beastly divinities.

With his usual anxiety to doubt everything which appears contrary to our ideas of the laws of nature, Voltaire refuses to credit the possi-

bility of the existence of such turpitudes, and in that lively vein of humour with which he knew so well how to throw ridicule on still graver subjects, wittily declares that the *valet de place* of Herodotus brought him round disorderly houses, and assured him that their occupants had come from the most distant parts of the empire, to be initiated in the mysteries of the goddess Tanais, Anaitis, or Melita, as she was called at Babylon.

In ancient times Armenia was washed by the waters of the Mediterranean, of the Caspian, and of the Black Seas; but the last really independent king of that extensive and powerful country having formed an alliance with Darius against Alexander the Great, perished upwards of three hundred years before Christ, fighting against that conqueror.

Armenia was reduced to servitude. At Alexander's death the Armenians aimed at regaining their independence; but the Seleucidæ obliged them to accept governors appointed by the Greeks. During the reign of Antiochus the Great, whose kingdom extended

to the Hindoo Koosh, two men, whom he had appointed governors of Armenia, proclaimed themselves kings of the provinces to which they had been sent as satraps. The success of their rebellion was so unexpected, that these vassals were encouraged to extend their conquests, and invading with a large army the countries of the Medes, of the Iberians, and of the Chalybians, they added so many new provinces to their dominions that Justin considers Armenia, as it existed during his time, second only to Parthia in wealth, power, and extent.

These successful rebels divided their conquests into two kingdoms, called, respectively, Armenia the Greater and the Minor.

The endeavour of Antiochus to recover his lost provinces ended in so complete a failure, that he was compelled to make peace with his revolted subjects, who, to secure themselves and their posterity in the provinces they had won, entered into an alliance with the Romans.

Previous to the reign of Tigranes the Great, there is a chasm of about seventy years in the history of Armenia. Tigranes, however, about

one hundred years before Christ, was induced to enter into an alliance with Mithridates Eupator against the Romans, whose power gave great jealousy to all the Asiatic princes.

In the meantime the Syrians, tired of the eternal intestine quarrels of the Seleucidæ, induced Tigranes to take possession of that country, to drive out Antiochus Pius, and thus to extend his dominion from the Euphrates to the sea. For eighteen years Tigranes governed Syria, till it was reduced to a Roman province by the arms of Pompey. The former reduced Armenia Minor, led his victorious army against the Asiatic Greeks, and compelled all the neighbouring provinces and tribes to acknowledge him as their sovereign.

Assuming the title of Kings of Kings, he believed himself invincible; employed crowned heads to wait upon him as menial servants; and never rode out unless accompanied by four kings running after him in the garb of footmen.

With only two legions and three thousand horse, Lucullus, having previously boasted at Ephesus of the victory which he was about to

gain, marched boldly into Armenia. "If these men," said Tigranes, on first seeing the Romans, "come as ambassadors, their number is sufficient; but if they come as enemies, they make but a very indifferent appearance." This day was marked in the calendar as unlucky, "it is therefore," remarked Lucullus, "more incumbent upon us to behave ourselves with more gallantry, that so dismal a day may henceforth become a day of joy and mirth for the people of Rome."

The superiority of the European over the Asiatic was never so wonderfully displayed as on this occasion. The army of Tigranes was utterly routed, a hundred thousand of the infantry were slaughtered, none of the cavalry escaped, and the Romans lamented only five men killed and a hundred wounded.

"Instead of standing to receive the Romans," says Plutarch, "they set up a cry of fear and most despicably fled without striking a blow." Antiochus the philosopher declares, that the sun never saw such a battle; Livy, that with such inferior numbers the Romans never

engaged such a multitude; and Strabo, that the Romans laughed at the notion of using weapons against such vile slaves.

It was in vain that Tigranes endeavoured to incite the Parthians and neighbouring princes against Lucullus. "The Romans," says he, (according to the fragment of the Fourth Book of Sallust's History), "are at war with all mankind. They pillage kingdoms, sell their inhabitants for slaves, plunder the temples of the gods, acknowledging no other law than their own arbitrary will and pleasure." A mutiny among the soldiers of Lucullus caused the latter to be succeeded in his command by Pompey, to whom Tigranes surrendered himself as a prisoner, but was allowed to retain his kingdom as a tributary of Rome.

Mark Antony plundered Armenia about forty years before Christ, and returning to Alexandria laden with booty, placed the son whom he had by Cleopatra on its throne. During the reign of Nero the Romans were shamefully driven out of Armenia by Vologeses, the King of Parthia, but the former drawing

together all their forces, reduced the whole country to subjection. Tiradates was crowned King of Armenia at Rome, where, falling at the feet of Nero, the latter placed the crown upon his head. He was succeeded by several kings, who held their authority as mere vassals of the Roman Empire, till Trajan, adding Mesopotamia to his dominions, reduced the ancient state to the condition of a mere province.

Armenia has ever been the battlefield on which the greatest conquerors of antiquity struggled for the sovereignty of the world. Bel, Nimrod, Semiramis, and Sesostris forced their way through it. The Assyrians and the Medes, the Medes and the Persians, Darius, Xerxes, and Alexander the Great, as well as the Romans and the Parthians, fought in Armenia for the dominion of Asia.

The fall of Mithridates the Great removed the barrier against Rome, but as Armenia lay on the direct road to Parthia, it was devastated and laid waste by cruel and bloody wars. When the Roman army occupied the kingdom of Bosphorus, it was brought so close to the

Persians that Armenia suffered from the almost continual wars waged between those rival powers, and the whole country was plundered alternately by the soldiers of Theodosius or of the Shah Shapar.

Its ephemeral independence trembled under the authority of Byzantium or of Iran; and although it was ruled by kings, or satraps, or governors of Armenian birth, they existed only as the slaves of foreign masters. The long-continued state of anarchy under which they lived had a marked effect on the character of the people; and twelve hundred years ago the Armenians are thus described by their own great historian, Moses of Khorene: "Doctors, ignorant and pretentious; monks, hypocritical and vain; ecclesiastics, full of presumption, enemies of science, and performers of buffooneries; people, insolent and idle; soldiers, brutal and boasters; princes, associates of thieves; judges, false and anxious for presents; all sentiment of shame or charity disappeared."

Although many historians of the earliest

Armenian periods were either Greeks or Syrians whose works have been preserved in Armenian translations, Moses of Khorene was an Armenian by birth, and his history is of the deepest interest, not only on account of his picture of the state of society in which he lived, but also on account of his quotations from Berosus, Abydenus, Manethon, Cephalion, and several other ancient writers whose works perished in the Alexandrian Library.

CHAPTER II.

THE VICISSITUDES OF ARMENIA.

Armenians the First Christians among the Gentiles.—Theology.—The Kalifs.—The Roupenian Dynasty in Armenia.—The Crusaders.—Visit of Leon, the Last King of Armenia, to London.—Timour the Tartar in Armenia.—His Cruelties.—The Armenian Historian Thomas of Medzoph.—His Pathetic Account of what he saw.—The Armenian Historian Chamchian.—His Love of Russia.

CHAPTER II.

THE VICISSITUDES OF ARMENIA.

THE Armenians are celebrated in ecclesiastical history as the first people, outside the limits of the Roman Empire, who embraced Christianity. In the year 302, King Tiradates was baptised by St. Gregory the Illuminator, and this circumstance being in the eyes of his subjects incontrovertible proof of the truth and sanctity of the new doctrine, they all became Christians in a mass.

To this day they are the pure disciples of Eutyches, and still believe that the body of Christ existed of a divine and incorruptible substance. Centuries of cruelty, of oppression, and of the most odious tyranny, have failed to

shake the faith of the poor Armenians; and, although their country has been depopulated by the most ruthless massacres of which history makes mention, and although by the infamous policy of their conquerors they have been driven like hunted animals to seek refuge in the most distant parts of the earth, they have always "preferred the crown of martyrdom to the white turban of Mahommed."

The rise of the religion of Mahommed caused Armenia to cling for safety to the Greek Emperor Heraclius, who gave her native-born governors called Curopalates; but the Kalifs or successors of the Prophet, by the force of their irresistible arms, brought the whole country under the dominion of Mussulman rulers called Osdigans. Till the middle of the ninth century the country was a prey to constant revolutions caused by the fanaticism of the Mussulmans, as well as, it is said, by the pride of the ancient Armenian nobility.

The Kalif acknowledged Ashod, an Armenian, together with his successors, as governors of the country; yet, although this dynasty arro-

gated to itself the pompous title of King of Kings, and attempted to resist the growing power of the Seljukian Turks, they were trampled beneath the hoofs of the invading hordes.

The extirpation, in the thirteenth century, of the Seljukian Turks by the Moguls of Genghis Khan was followed by the complete servitude of the Armenians; for although within the ancient limits of the kingdom of Haïstan, or Armenia, a remnant of that nation still formed a kind of independent kingdom, sheltered among the valleys and fastnesses of Mount Taurus, the vast majority of the race groaned in Persian or Tartar slavery.

The contemptible dynasty of the Roupenians lasted for about three centuries; and King Leo, who established very friendly relations with the Lusignans, was styled royal by the crusaders. As he adopted the Catholic religion, he separated himself by an impassable barrier from his othodox countrymen; but the titles of barons affected by his nobility, as well as the number of French words used in the Armenian manuscript

of his contemporary historian Sempad, are proofs of his close connection with Europeans.

The Roupenian Armenians fought bravely and successfully against both the Greeks and the Turks; but, notwithstanding their alliance with the Moguls, they were totally extirpated by the Egyptian Mamelukes.

Leon VI., the last King of Armenia, was redeemed from his captivity in Egypt by John of Castille; and after wandering about Europe as a mendicant, and even visiting London in the reign of Richard II., died in Paris during the year 1391. The name of Armenia was thus blotted out of history. For five hundred years the annals of a people broken under the Persian yoke or the Turkish sabre contain no memorable events; for "the history of Christians submitted to Mussulman laws," says Von Hammer, "is only an uninterrupted scene of violence and tyranny."

In every war which has desolated Armenia, the wretched inhabitants, without having any interest in the quarrel, have been ruthlessly put to the sword. When Timour the Tartar, at

the head of his fiendish hordes, swept over Asia Minor, destroyed like a flight of locusts the fairest regions of the earth, conquered the Turks at the celebrated battle of Angora, and massacred the last remnant of the crusaders at Smyrna, his historian Sherrefeddin celebrates as pious works the indiscriminate slaughter of the Armenian Christians; but Thomas of Medzoph, an Armenian, who witnessed these atrocities, thus wrote of them in the year 1424:

"A crowd of Christians, reduced to wander here and there among the hills and mountains, perished in the torments of hunger.

"I am able neither to enumerate the dead nor to express the groans, the tears, the shrieks, and the ruin of our nation.

"The Kurd Paghesch . . . pillaged, killed, and cut the throats of many of our families . . . he completely exterminated the Armenian nation. The troops of Skandar . . . took towns and villages, monasteries and hamlets: everywhere they pillaged and destroyed.

"They left neither bread nor grass . . . .

They devastated the country in a horrible manner . . . For fear of the enemy, we wished that the sea would swallow us up ; while we listened without ceasing to the shrieks and wails of women and children . . . In truth, the enemy overwhelms everyone with blows, and gives the bastionade."

Multitudes of Armenians having hid themselves in caverns and among rocks, "the enemy advanced round the mountain from all sides, like the eagle which pursues the bird of heaven ; they shouted and vociferated with all their might.

"They filled with terror the hearts of men and women, which makes one tremble with as much horror as if the day of judgment had come. They massacred the rich, and went so far as to circumcise some of them and to tear them from their fate. They separated the women and children from the fathers of the family, and carried them into captivity. The mother called her son, and the son his mother. 'Oh! my mother,' said he, 'who will take me to see thee again!' The mother answered:

'Cursed be the day of thy birth! O child, thou must walk upon a sea of grief!'

"Such was this state of unheard-of calamity, that it is impossible to describe it in a written composition; but we want to give those who come after us some knowledge of these things, so that you may weep bitterly over the ruin of the Armenian nation, for we ourselves have been in person in the midst of these events.

"The enemy took possession of much booty, and seized our unfortunate children to an incalculable number, as well in the towns as in the villages. They took an innumerable crowd of women and children. Alas! misery upon us, desolation upon us, from that day till now, and still on in the future.

"Behold, for seven years we are exposed to a terrible chastisement. In fact, the sword has broken, famine has killed, captivity has decimated, and the wild beasts have devoured man; birds have devastated the harvests, and toads and rats have destroyed the fields. It is a greater punishment than that of the Babylonians in the days of Abraham, and much more

cruel than the plagues which struck down the Hebrews and Egyptians.

"They reduced to captivity the wives and children of these innocent men, and oppressed the Armenian population in tormenting the men with fire and iron, as well as by inexpressible tortures . . . Making even the women carry loads, they drove them through the snow, in which they perished by thousands . . . One day was so frightful, in consequence of the cruel and sanguinary race of Kurds, that it was altogether similar to the day of judgment.

"In all the extent of our territory, our country was filled with servitude and tears, with groans and sighs." The inhabitants "dispersed into Egypt, Khorassan, into the country of Bagdad, into Daghestan, and into an infinity of countries. The infidels said, 'Where, then, is Jesus their God? Let Him come and save those who believe in Him.'

"We cry and we bemoan our ruin with the liveliest grief, with lamentations and sighs; for innocent children; holy lambs and flocks redeemed by the blood of Christ; and chaste

spouses delivered into the hands of the impious and thrown amongst an innumerable number of unbelievers : have been lost for ever."

The wretched Armenians, without ties and without land, have been wanderers, sometimes in single families and sometimes in colonies, over the face of the whole earth, and from the nature of their existence became traffickers and merchants between Europe and Asia. After the time of the Mogul invasion they followed those hordes to Astrakan, Kazan, the Crimea and the Ukraine.

Under the government of the Ottoman Turks large numbers settled in Constantinople. The Persians, perceiving the utility to their dominions of the establishment in it of such a thrifty, peaceable and industrious race, forcibly transplanted myriads of them into the suburbs of Teheran, from where they emigrated to different parts of Hindustan. Others settled in Russia, Poland, Venice, France, and even England.

" In consequence," says the Armenian Chamchian in his history of his own country, published

over fifty years ago—"in consequence of the tyranny which the Mahommedans exercise over the Christians whom they have subjected to their power, Armenia is almost depopulated. The inhabitants seize every opportunity that occurs in order to leave their wretched country and settle in places under milder government. Russia being the nearest Christian power, multitudes have migrated thither, and have been uniformly treated by the Czars with as much kindness as their own native subjects. There are many thousands of Armenians naturalised in that vast empire, who have risen to opulence by their industry, and not a few who have been elevated to high offices of trust by the late Emperor Alexander; a proof as well of the great esteem which he entertained for the nation, as of his liberality of sentiment in regarding them equally eligible for eminent positions as his own native-born subjects."

CHAPTER III.

THE TURKS.

Turc, the Founder of the Race, the Offspring of a She-Wolf. —All the Tribes North and East of the Caspian, Turks.—The Turkish Language that of the Modern Turcomans. Turkish Mercenaries flog the Kalif. — Found several Petty States.—Ottoman Empire founded in Armenia.—Separation of the Hungarians from the Parent Stock.—Settlements round Erzerum.—Unchangeable Character of the People.—The Seljukian Turks.—The Ottoman Turks. The Splendour of their Kingdom.—Its Consolidation.

CHAPTER III.

THE TURKS.

It was not till the middle of the sixth century that the name of Turk became known in Europe. The founder of that martial people was a man named Turc, supposed to be synonymous with Targitaos of Herodotus, or Toqarmah of the 10th chapter of Genesis; and, like Romulus, he was said to be the offspring of a she-wolf. 15,123

This silly fable, diligently propagated by the Turks and firmly believed by their enemies, tended in no small degree to inspire the terror with which they were long regarded; and even now the peasants of the frontier provinces of Austria hold this version of the Turkish pedigree as an article of faith.

In the beginning the name of Turk did not belong alone to the nation to whom we now apply it; but was, on the contrary, common to all the tribes or hordes stretching to the east, as well as to the north, of the Caspian Sea. The ancient Greeks spoke of these peoples as Parthians, Massagetes, or Scythians, while Europeans have classed them under the more general name of Tartars.

Shepherds, warriors, vagabonds and thieves, they, in their natural state of nomads or wanderers, have always proved themselves unconquerable, and divided into tribes or camps, which they call *ordous,* and of which we have made the word horde; they have ever existed in a state of continual and perpetual warfare, waged either among themselves or in temporary and ephemeral alliances against their neighbours.

They acknowledged by their religion a supreme Deity, but it appears from their rude hymns that they learned from the teaching of Zoroaster, of which apparently they had some vague notions, to adore the elements.

Throughout the wide extent of country in which they lived, or over which they wandered, a similar language was spoken ; and this tongue, enriched by Persian and Arabic words and idioms, and refined by Ottoman literature, has grown into the modern Turkish dialect. Its construction is clear, logical and expressive, and it is still talked in many differently-named dialects, from the frontiers of China to those of Austria.

The Ottomans distinguish between the ancient and modern Turkish; for the dialect spoken by the subjects of Genghis Khan, and called Djaghatai, after the name of one of his sons, was the oldest and purest form of their language, and closely resembles that of the wild Turcomans of the present time.

As long as the successors of Mahommed were fighting for the dominion of the world, their active lives and frugal habits, supported by that extraordinary religious enthusiasm which caused each man among them to believe that he merited the special attention of the Divinity, disdained the luxuries and superfluities of the countries which they reduced to subjection ; but no sooner

was their empire consolidated, than their piety and zeal gave place to an effeminacy and corruption in every way opposed to those martial virtues for which the free Arabs of the desert have ever been celebrated.

A few Turkish hordes having been introduced into the empire of the Kalifs, succeeded before long in making laws of their own for the people, who expected to find them very useful allies or mercenaries.

Motazzam, the brother and successor of Al-mamoun, having attempted to protect his authority in Bagdad by means of a large body-guard of Turks, was obliged to fly from that city in consequence of their disorders. Before long their power and insolence became so great that they disposed of the throne as well as of the lives of the princes; and in the tenth century the Kalifs were publicly flogged at the merest caprices of these Tartar Emirs.

Encouraged by the success of their countrymen, and taking advantage of the anarchy, corruption, and misgovernment at this time prevalent throughout the vast empire of the Arabs,

great numbers of Turkish or Turcoman hordes, pillaging and massacring according to their laudable custom, founded several independent states in different parts of Asia, or Asia Minor. Such were those of Kerman, Korasan, Konieh, Aleppo, and Damascus.

At this time the people known to us as Turks, and who now describe themselves as Osmanlis, were distinguished by the name of Ogouzians, or Hungarians. They lived to the east of the Caspian Sea, but when Genghiz, or the Great Khan, forced all the tribes of Tartary to accept him as their king, fifty thousand Ogouzians, Hungarians, or Turks, under the leadership of one, Soliman Shah, established themselves in the neighbourhood of Erzingan; and thus the nucleus of the great Ottoman Empire was founded in Armenia towards the commencement of the thirteenth century.

In illustration of the wanderings of these savage nomads, exact specimens of which may still be seen journeying about the wild countries bordering on the Caspian Sea, it is an interesting fact, in every way worthy of atten-

tion, that a swarm of Turks, known in Europe by the name of Hungarians, or Magyars, strayed to the frontiers of Germany, where, mistaken for the Gog and Magog of the Bible, they were believed to be the forerunners of the end of the world.

Three hundred and fifty years after this emigration, ambassadors from the King of Hungary sought and discovered the parent stock from which they had so long been separated. The ambassadors were received with every demonstration of delight; for, although having been converted to Christianity, they differed from their countrymen in religion, they conversed freely with them, and in a common language.

The tradition of their departure had been preserved, but the elder branch heard with astonishment an account of the distant kingdom and its new religion.

The Turks who, under the leadership of Soliman, forced themselves into Armenia, appear to have existed there, at all events during the earliest period of their occupation, as wanderers;

for many of them returned to the countries in Central Asia from which they had set out; while others strayed still further into Asia Minor, where, under the name of Turcomans, their descendants still lead a roving and nomadic life, sheltering themselves under black tents, and pasturing their cattle in the extensive plains.

Some four hundred tents or families settled round Erzerum; in the ancient Phasiana, now so well known as the plains of Passim; in the extensive and fertile district of Alashkird; as well as in the neighbouring valleys, where, from the circumjacent heights, streams of water flow to the Black Sea, to the Caspian, and to the Persian Gulf.

Xenophon, with his ten thousand Greeks, marched through these plains two thousand years ago; and the supposed error of that very accurate writer, in mistaking the Araxes for the distant Phasis, is easily explained by the fact that to this day the Armenians call the feeder of the former river, which flows past Hassankale, the Phasian Su.

The habits of the roving tribes who still

wander in these elevated places have in no way changed from those of their equally uncultured ancestors; while the life, customs, and rude architecture of the Armenian villagers have, comparing Xenophon's interesting description of them with their present state, been perfectly unchangeable for twenty centuries.

To this day the Koords, the Arabs, and the Turcomans, who wander about the mountainous tracts of Asiatic Turkey, have preserved the pastoral habits and the manners of the desert.

Their only riches consist in large droves of cattle, which, for the convenience of pasture, they drive from place to place according to the variations of the yearly seasons. Easily eluding the arms of the Turks, they have never been really reduced to subjection; and although, in the form of a small tribute to the sultan, they consent to pay a kind of rent or license for the right of grazing their flocks, they are despotically and paternally governed by their own chiefs, to whom their fidelity and affection is unbounded.

The Turkish soldiers, in the service of the Kalifs or their lieutenants, encouraged the emigrations (into the empire of the Arabs) of their hardy countrymen, who embracing the Mahommedan religion, were allowed to encamp or settle in its extensive plains.

From bands of robbers they grew into an army of conquerors; and, proceeding to the election of a chief, are known to history as the far-famed Seljukian Turks, who conquered Bagdad and Mossul, and extended their conquests into Armenia and Georgia.

In their origin they are compared to a swarm of ants; they afterwards became little snakes, and it was predicted that unless they were crushed—in time, they would acquire the venom and magnitude of serpents.

The dominions of the Seljukian Turks exceeded those of Cyrus; the cities of Bokhara, Carzime, and Samarcand were brought under their rule; the natives of Kashgar, whose inhabitants to this day speak pure Turkish, on the frontiers of China, humbly acknowledged their authority; their jurisdiction extended to

the holy cities of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem; and even stretched to the neighbourhood of Constantinople itself.

The empire of Seljuk fell to pieces, and was lost in the dynasties of Persia, of Kerman, of Syria, and of Roum. The latter, known to the Mussulmans by the name of Arzerum, or the country of the Romans, extended from the Euphrates to the Black Sea and the confines of Syria. The capital of this country was fixed at Nice, and the religion of Mahommed was taught in a cathedral where the celebrated council, proudly legislated for the Christian faith, and defined the nature of the holy Trinity.

The Arabian tongue and literature was studiously cultivated in the mosques and schools of Anatolia; and the wild shepherds of Central Asia, in adopting the religion of Mahommed, insensibly copied the gravity and dignity of the great Semitic race, whose expressive and elegant language, engrafted on that of the Turks, became refined into the idiom of the Sublime Porte.

It is true that the contempt of the Turks allowed those Greek and Armenian Christians —who preferred the payment of tribute to the renunciation of the Christian faith—to practise the rites of their religion; but they were forbidden to use bells, to celebrate their feasts in public processions, or even to ride upon a horse. Turkish manners and customs were extended throughout the country: Turkish judges administered the laws according to the precepts of the Koran; and in order to stamp them with infamy and mark their degradation, the Christians were forbidden to carry arms, and forced to wear a dress which closely resembled that of women.

Temugin, or, as he is generally called, Ghengis Khan (that is, the Great Khan), united all the pastoral tribes of Central Asia under his standard, and in a few years committed a havoc and devastation on the labours of mankind that nearly six centuries have not been able to repair. Attila, Ghengis Khan, and Tamerlane deserve equally the title of Scourge of God. Their horses trampled old systems of civilisa-

tions under their hoofs, and they totally exterminated the tribes or nations who opposed, even by their presence, the slightest impediment to their advance.

In about seventy years, Ghengis and his successors had conquered the whole of Asia and a great part of Europe; but the empire of the Seljukian Turks fell to pieces amid the general wreck. A few Emirs of that celebrated monarchy existed in a state of semi-independence; but even these chiefs acknowledged the authority of the Khans of Persia.

The travels of William de Rebruquis, who visited the capital of Ghengis Khan, give an interesting description of the manner of life among those barbarians, who tolerated the missionaries of every religion in both their camps and cities; and although eventually adopting the creed of Mahommed, several Tartars became converts to Christianity, and even to Judaism.

The empire of Ghengis Khan, like that of the Seljukian Turks, fell to pieces almost as suddenly as it had arisen; but its ruin gave rise

to the free and rapid growth of *the Ottoman Turks,* who, as already stated, marched into Armenia under the leadership of Soliman.

Soliman having been drowned in an attempt to swim his horse across the Euphrates, was succeeded by his son Ertogrul, who taking command of the hordes in succession to his father, and as their supreme chief, led them into Armenia for the convenience of the extensive pasture-lands which furnished copious grazing fields for their numerous cattle.

The energy, the tact, the courage, and perhaps, above all, the honesty of this excellent man, caused him to gain such a consideration in the neighbouring countries or provinces, that his friendship was sought by the surrounding chiefs or princes, among whom was the celebrated Alaeldin, Sultan of Iconium. This old man granted lands in fief to the followers of Ertogrul, and actually invested him with the supreme command of his own soldiers; for he trusted Ertogrul himself, and knew that he resembled his ancestor, who declared with pride that a

Turk was "incapable of uttering or forgiving a falsehood."

Ertogrul was in every way worthy of the credit of Alaeldin, for he defeated some of the hordes of the successors of Ghengis Khan, and on his death transmitted his authority to his son Osman, who was formally invested with that celebrated horse-tail standard which had ever been a symbol of command among all the Tartars.

This Osman, in order to distinguish his hordes of Turks from all the other Turks, caused them for ever after to bear his name, and to this day the Mussulman subjects of the Sublime Porte call themselves Osmanlis, out of which we have coined the mispronunciation of Ottoman. It was the custom for all men to glory in the name—common to all his followers—of a great chief; and the Nogai Tartars took their title from a celebrated leader, in the same way as the great Tartar language was called after the renowned Zagatai.

In the year 1300 Osman adopted the title of Sultan (that is, absolute Ruler) of the Osmanlis;

or according to our corrupted pronunciation, of the Ottoman Turks; and before very long this new name became terrible to the degenerate Greeks of Constantinople.

So close to the territories of the Greek Empire, whose frontiers were undefended, the followers of Osman poured without opposition through the passes in the mountains, and pitched their camps on the plains of Bithynia.

Pillaging and massacring according to their time-honoured custom, the Turks, instead of retreating to the mountains with their booty, kept possession of the numerous Greek citadels which fell into their hands; installed their troops in carefully selected strategical positions, and renouncing to a great extent the wild and roving life of their forefathers, formed the nucleus of a powerful kingdom, which was strengthened and made celebrated by the capture of Brusa.

The Greek inhabitants of Brusa ransomed their lives by the payment of that tribute with which the laws of Mahommed allow the Christians to purchase their exemption from

a change of faith or death; the old Seljukian money gave place to coins marked with the cypher of the new dynasty; Persian and Arabic doctors, attracted from the ancient seats of Oriental learning by the liberality of Orchan, the son of Osman, to the new capital, founded a celebrated college, where the Turkish youth were instructed in sacred and profane science; and in a short time stately mosques as well as other public buildings entirely changed the aspect of the new city. It is from this period that dates the rise and splendour of the Ottoman Turks.

The free and independent shepherds who constituted the army, if such an expression is applicable to the loose and undrilled hordes who scampered after the streaming horse-tails of Osman, consisted altogether of cavalry. Every Turk was accustomed to the saddle from his infancy, and to set out on a warlike expedition on foot was deemed unbecoming and degrading to the character of the freebooter. If it was necessary for the attack of strong places, he could act on foot for the occasion; but his horse

was ever close by, and ready for the contingency of real or simulated flight.

It is worthy of remark that all the great invasions of India and Asia Minor were performed by horsemen. Against such a force experience has shown that infantry unsupported by cavalry is almost powerless, because a mounted army can give battle and disappear, according to the will of its commander, while its scouts, although hindering any information of movements coming to the ears of the enemy, can constantly keep their eye on the foe without danger to themselves.

If the Tartar hordes were successful they pushed on, and, the rear supporting the front, overwhelmed their adversaries by means of horsemen poured upon them from all sides; yet so rapid and well calculated were their evolutions, that they used to assail from points where they were least expected.

These manœuvres generally ended in complete route and massacre. If, however, they were unsuccessful, swarms of active horsemen covered the retreat with such skill, that all trace

of the invaders was lost. Journeying from seventy to ninety miles between sunrise and sunset, the marches performed by the Tartar tribes seem almost incredible; but as each shepherd was accompanied by several loose horses who followed the hordes in large flocks, the means to change a tired or worn-out animal was always at hand.

Orchan, the son of Osman, was the first Turk who trained and drilled a body of infantry, and as these men were well paid, their numbers became easily increased by crowds of volunteers. A regular army was thus formed; for besides a carefully instructed body of engineers for the management of those trains of battering engines used at the siege of towns, all Turkish peasants still mounted on horseback and followed the force as outposts, videttes, and freebooters.

The intestine divisions of the degenerate Greeks aided the ambition of the successors of Orchan—and before long the standards of his son Murad (or Amurath, as the name is usually written in English) floated over the European city of Adrianople. Bayazid, who from the

rapidity of his destructive marches was surnamed Ilderim, or the Lightning, was the son of Mŭrad, and in the fourteen years of his reign he constantly moved from the Danube to the Euphrates.

Although a bigoted and fanatical Mussulman who worked hard for the propagation of the true faith, he subjected the Mahommedan as well as the Christian princes of Asia to his iron yoke; and after the conquest of the kingdom of Iconium revived and enlarged, under an Ottoman dynasty, the ancient empire of Seljuk.

In a celebrated speech which he delivered to his officers, he exposed in a few words the nature and genius of his government: "You all know," said he, "some by having seen it yourselves, others by having heard it from your fathers, that hardly sixty years ago the princes descended from Osman, having crossed the strait, made themselves masters of Thrace, obliged the Greeks and the Servians to pay them a pension, and imposed such a heavy tribute on the Wallacks, on the Hungarians, on the Albanians, and on the Bulgarians, that their revenues were

hardly sufficient to pay it; further, they have reduced them to such a frightful servitude, that they send them the best made of their children to serve them, so as to excite by that their compassion and to redeem themselves from the evils of war.

'The high wisdom by which, notwithstanding the lowness of our birth, we have been placed above a number of nations who do not adore the single God preached by the Prophet, and by which we have been raised up to the happiness of real piety, is no feeble argument of the dignity and excellence of this state."

Like Attila and Ghengis Khan, Tamerlane, one of the most extraordinary men of whom history makes mention, uniting all the tribes of Central Asia under his banner, conquered the whole of that continent from China and the Ganges to the Mediterranean Sea. At the battle of Angora he laid the Ottoman Empire at his feet. Its "massy trunk was bent to the ground, but no sooner did the hurricane pass away, than it arose with fresh vigour and more lively vegetation."

The evacuation of Anatolia by Timour was succeeded by a state of anarchy; but the wisest Turks, as well as the great body of the nation, being attached to the unity of the empire, the wandering Turcomans and Tartars were reduced to obedience, and their lawlessness repressed; the rebellious Emirs sent in their allegiance to Murad the Second; and the well-known capture of Constantinople by Mahommed the Second, in destroying the last vestiges of the Empire of the East, caused the kingdom of the Ottoman Turks to become the most splendid and powerful on the face of the earth.

After the manner of all Asiatic conquerors, Bayazid, in order to consolidate his power, forcibly transported colonies of Turks and Tartars to different parts of Europe and Asia. From the most ancient times this summary manner of dealing with conquered countries has been a favourite maxim of policy with Asiatic legislators.

Mahommed the First, offended by some colonies of Tartars whom he found rejoicing at the wedding of one of their chiefs instead of having

taken the field, forced several thousand families settled at Iskilib, in Asia, to emigrate into Roumelia; and it was in a manner equally summary that the recently celebrated town of Tartar Bazarjic was founded.

It was not till after the final capture of Constantinople that the classic city of Sinope, the birthplace of Diogenes, as well as the so-called empire of Trebizonde, fell into the hands of the conquering Turks. The hordes calling themselves Seljuk, the dynasty of Timour, the Khans of the Crimea, the tribes of Koords, the Turcomans—known from their standards as Turcomans of the white and black sheep—humbly acknowledged the authority of the Sublime Porte, and among the Mussulman nations the Persians alone can boast of a separate history and an independent position.

Till towards the close of the fifteenth century the commerce and colonies of the Genoese, in the Black Sea, maintained a constant intercourse with Europe; and so friendly were the relations of the Italian adventurers with both the Turks of the Anatolian coasts and the

Tartars of the Crimea, that John Adorno, son of the Doge of Genoa, ruled these settlements under the title of Podesta. The magistrates and local authorities were chosen from among the natives of the country; but they appear to have established a good and tolerant government under the supervision and in the name of the Genoese Republic.

The interesting history of these traders, whose massive castles still ornament the wildest parts of the iron-bound coasts of the Euxine, has never been published; but there can be little doubt that many manuscripts and documents of the deepest interest lie unknown and uncared for among the archives at Genoa.

The meddlesomeness of the Genoese in the affairs of the descendants of the Tartars of the house of Timour settled in the Crimea, prompted Mahommed the Second to stop their interference in the affairs of Turks. In this determination Ahmed Pasha, at the head of a large force, reduced one after the other the Italian cities.

A few Genoese and Tartars, under Mengheli

Ghirai, defied the Turks from the heights of Mangoup Kale. They were, however, forced to surrender; and the remnants of the Genoese transported to a village called Kubeschah, in the mountains of Derbend, where their descendants to this day are distinguished by the name of Franks, are all that now represent the once powerful government or protection of the Podesta.

CHAPTER IV.

TURKISH INSTITUTIONS.

Comparison of the Turkish System with the European Feudal System.—Dignity of the Turk.—Degradation of the Christian. — The Turkish Form of Government essentially Despotic, Democratic, and Military. —The Formation and Education of the Janizaries. —Their Singular Initiation.—The Turkish System of Military Service.—The Turkish Cavalry.—Corporal Punishment inflicted on different Parts of the Body of Horse and Foot Soldiers.—Their Perfect System of Entrenchment and taking up Positions.—Superiority of the Turkish Army.—Its Interior Economy Perfect.—Position of the Christians.—Summary Justice Suitable to the Turkish Disposition.—Why the Turks, although Inferior in Numbers, kept the Christians Down.—The Corruption of their Administration, and the Decline of the Military Power.—Extraordinary Training of Turkish Officials.—Blind Obedience to Authority permeates all Ranks.—Hopeless Corruption of the Administration.—Turkish Laws more Tolerant than those of the Christian. —Intercourse between Turks and Europeans softens Turkish Manners.

CHAPTER IV.

TURKISH INSTITUTIONS.

THE institutions and policy of all those barbarous nations which,—migrating from their original seats, established themselves in new countries,—aimed at consolidating their conquests, protecting themselves against the inroads of other tribes, and establishing laws by means of which their military strength could be brought under regular control.

It became necessary to form a kind of confederacy, and everyone who received lands bound himself in return to take up arms in defence of the commonwealth whenever he was called upon to do so.

This organisation became celebrated under

the name of the feudal system. The king was the general, and he rewarded faithful soldiers by grants of land, which by degrees became parcelled out among every freeman or soldier who fought under a chief.

As the principal officers imitated the example of the sovereign and rewarded their followers by similar grants, the economy of a feudal government resembled that of an army, because it was in a way regularly disciplined and obeyed properly appointed leaders.

The pride and insolence of these chiefs was nevertheless unbounded. On the most frivolous pretexts they made war upon each other, and the authority of the sovereign grew in time to be so limited that it was entirely owing to the charters granted to the inhabitants of those free towns which sprang up all over Europe during the middle ages, that that continent was saved from a state of ignorance and barbarism.

The European nations have constantly fought for their liberties. The Asiatics, on the contrary, have only made revolutions whose object was to change one tyrant for another; but any

endeavour to extend the personal freedom of individuals, to give them those rights which seem to be the birthright of every man, or to limit the arbitrary power of their rulers, appears to be altogether beyond their conception. The education of every Oriental, who is not in the service of the government, teaches him to tremble and to obey.

Notwithstanding the splendour of their government, which at one time inspired the greatest fear throughout the whole of Christendom, and notwithstanding the large possessions which they by force of arms acquired in Europe, the genius of Turkish policy has ever been a pure Asiatic despotism.

The descendants of Osman ruled by hereditary right. Every one of their subjects were degraded to an equal level beneath their feet; and from their thrones, as from an elevation of immeasurable height, the Sultans looked down upon all men grovelling before them.

Like the Helots among the Spartans, the conquered Christians who refused to embrace the creed of their masters were looked upon

with the greatest contempt and hatred, and in spite of whatever wealth, learning, or distinction they might happen to possess. They were regarded as a race of men altogether vile and mean. In their daily intercourse with Turks they were insulted, and the very lowest and poorest Mussulman considered himself, and was esteemed in the eye of the law, as a personage far superior to any infidel, which, rather than Christian, was, and is still, the usual manner of speaking about and describing men who believe in the religion of Jesus.

The testimony of every man in any way qualified to give an opinion worth attention, shows that centuries of such degradation have caused the miserable Rayahs or Christian subjects of the Sultan to become as inferior to the Turk as the contemptible Helot was to the Spartan.

A sense of his own importance teaches the Turk dignity, truthfulness, and honour. His bearing is manly, courageous, and very proud. The Christian is a mean, sneaking, and, generally speaking, a cowardly wretch, on whom little or no dependence can as a rule be placed.

These opposite qualities or characteristics in two races living together in the same towns and villages are entirely the result of legislation. The wisdom of the Turks taught them to degrade the Christians, and they effected this object by means of cunningly devised laws.

The Ottoman Turks forced their way into those extensive countries known to geographers by the name of Turkey with their scimitars in their hands.

It may be said of the Turks what Virgil said of the Romans, "Their art is to command." From the Archipelago to the Euphrates, the Ottomans have completely subjugated countries in which the combined powers of several European nations, at the time of the Crusades, never succeeded in establishing more than a temporary dominion.

Every law, every custom, and even the manner of life among the Turks, resembles that of soldiers living in a great camp or cantonment. Their education teaches a ready and quick obedience to properly constituted authority, and so deeply is this martial training

engrafted during their whole lives into the minds of the Turks, that their extreme docility and attention to orders, even under the most trying circumstances, is a matter of wonder to all foreigners who have mixed among them.

The genius of the Turkish Government has never tolerated any of those constitutional restraints which in other countries have been framed in order to check the arbitrary exercise of sovereign authority. There is no such distinction as hereditary rank, and to be employed in the service of the Sultan is the only title to superiority.

The sons or relations of the highest dignitary in Turkey have no more consideration or title to respect than if the latter had never emerged from the obscurity from which he had risen. Every rank was annihilated for the greater exaltation of the Sultan, who, although his authority is circumscribed by the principles of religion upon which it is founded, was only checked by such restrictions as were imposed by the military power.

To preserve the fidelity and attachment of the

soldiery was the great art and object of the Ottoman Government. Under able monarchs, fitted by nature and training for commanders, the power of the Sultan became irresistible, and was felt in the remotest corners of the empire; but under feeble and cowardly rulers, a mutinous and discontented army used the Padishahs as mere puppets, whom they exalted or degraded at their pleasure.

To rule by the sword, to strike terror into and hold in subjection the peoples and nations whom they had conquered, was the principal maxim of Turkish policy; and the Sultans, perceiving that it was not among the effeminate inhabitants of their Asiatic provinces that men capable of serving them courageously were to be found, adopted an ingenious though cruel method for recruiting the stamp of soldiers which they wanted.

They seized the most robust and promising Christian lads on whom they could lay hands, and before they were fifteen years of age sent them into Asia, where for some time they lived in the family of Turkish peasants.

Well and kindly treated, they soon forgot their families. Carefully educated in the Mussulman faith, and hardened by every martial exercise capable of fortifying their bodies and strengthening their limbs, they formed before long the nucleus of a splendid infantry, which —strong proof of the force of education—although born without exception of Christian parents, became in time the greatest tyrants and oppressors of their downtrodden and cringing kindred.

Although growing in time to be the principal strength of the Ottoman army, they originally numbered only about six thousand men; but they were always well-fed and well-clothed, and in every way better cared for and provided than the tattered and ragged infantry which in those days disgraced every army in Christendom.

These celebrated soldiers were formed by Murad the First. Every means of inspiring them with courage and enthusiasm was employed. The Sultans often led them on in person; and at their first formation they were blessed by a celebrated saint, who, stretching

his arm over their heads, said: "Let them be called Yenicheri" (that is, new soldiers); "let their countenance be ever bright, their hands victorious, their swords sharp; let their spears hang over the heads of the enemy, and wherever they go let them return with a happy face."

At first the Janizaries were entirely composed of the sons of Christians who had been torn from their parents; but afterwards the children of Turks were freely admitted into their Ortas. Before attaining to the rank and pay of a Janizary, they were forced to serve an apprenticeship; but, after they had proved themselves physically capable of bearing all the trials and inconveniences of heat and cold, and became proficient in every martial exercise suitable to their profession:—they were formally enlisted.

None but the healthiest, the most hardy, and the most robust youths were able to bear the extreme severity of this preparatory education. They were compelled to dig, to carry enormous burdens, and to pass several days at a time on the coarsest and most scanty food. They were instructed in the blindest obedience to all orders

or commands, and by way of reminding them of the subservience with which they should always conduct themselves in the presence of their superiors, each recruit, on his final attestation and nomination to a company, received, as a sort of ceremony of initiation, a fearful blow on the head from his captain.

This shock made him a Janizary; but, very different from the gentle stroke with the flat of a sword, by which a gentleman was raised to the dignity of knighthood, the new soldier often fell stunned and bleeding from the honour showered upon him.

As soon as he had recovered from the effects of this preliminary, he was allotted quarters in the barracks, where he received each day his regular pay, besides two good meals, and such a liberal supply of comfortable clothing that his post was a position of respectability and ease.

Here the strictest and most severe discipline was maintained. When the Janizaries walked abroad they never lounged or loitered in the streets, but carrying a white wand or cane, they moved modestly after their own business, and

their soldier-like aspect and excellent conduct drew forth the warmest applause from the celebrated Busbequius who saw them for the first time in the streets of Pesth, when he passed through that town on his way to Constantinople from London, where, during the reign of Queen Mary, the sister of Elizabeth, he had occupied the post of Austrian ambassador.

Busbequius remarks that the Janizaries had the appearance of young friars rather than of soldiers. Their constitution resembled in many respects those military monastic orders of the middle ages. A Janizary was not supposed to marry, for the excellent reason that the encumbrance of a wife impedes the movements of a soldier, whether in peace or war; and although some of them infringed this custom, for strictly speaking there was no law in force against marriage, any of the corps who were harassed or worried with a woman could never hope for either preferment or promotion.

Nothing could be more sensible than this law; for while the Janizaries, from the peculiar

nature of their breeding and education, were men who, having no ties or kindred of any description whatever, were all the more likely to be completely devoted to their chiefs as well as to their order—the very fact of their marriage brought them into close relations with the people from whom the original intention of their founder had been to separate them altogether.

Like Napoleon's old Guard, the Janizaries—"the firm and invincible" Janizaries, as they were called—remained constantly in reserve; when the time arrived for striking a decisive blow they advanced; they were led, if not by the Sultan himself, by the Grand Wuzeer; the beating of their sonorous tabulchana struck terror into their enemies on many a hard-fought field; and such sagacious observers as Busbequius, Marsigli, and Daulphinois acknowledge and lament their great superiority over any European infantry that could be brought against them at that period.

The Turkish army was composed of two categories: one such as the Janizaries, armourers, gunners, and Spahees, which received regular

pay out of the treasury; and the other called the Mal-mukarele, which consisted of a kind of militia maintained and supported according to the feudal system.

The latter forces were compelled to take the field in compliance with fixed rules, which regulated their numbers, tent equipage and munitions. According to the revenues or rents of their chiefs they furnished so many horsemen; and a careful comparison of their laws with those in force in England in the days of chivalry, seem to assimilate their service with that of the ancient knights.

No scheming was possible: no excuse, no sickness, no accidents, were considered as a reason for not taking the field. If a man was sick, he was compelled to follow in a horse-litter; if an infant was inscribed on the books, even he was forced to go to war in his cradle.

Thus from their earliest childhood, from their most tender years, they became habituated and hardened to all the hardships, inconveniences, troubles, and dangers of war, so that they may

be said to have grown up amid the excitement of battle and the noise of strife.

Such men were soldiers and heroes. It is nothing but constant contact with danger which makes a brave man. The contempt with which these warriors, after a long campaign, returned to their villages and looked upon the wretched, cowardly, effeminate, and unarmed Christians, is only a necessary consequence resulting from those eternal laws which govern the human mind; and thus every maxim of Turkish policy tended to exalt the followers of Mahommed at the expense of those of Jesus.

The Christian was disfranchised: he became a vile man, a political and military nonentity, who, ignorant of arms, and forbidden by the most stringent laws to become acquainted with their use, merited the contempt even of his women, whom he was unable to defend.

It has been before remarked that the government of the Turks is, and always has been; a pure Asiatic despotism. It is necessary to notice the great difference between the feudal

system as it was establisheed in Europe and the somewhat similar system which obtained in Turkey.

If a Baron died he was succeeded by his son. If, on the contrary, a Bey, or Timariot, as these Turkish Barons were called, died, he was very often succeeded by a nominee of the Sultan; for as a great number of desperate and gallant men,—with no pretension beyond transcendent personal courage, to inherit a distinction—fought among those feudal assemblages, under the names of Gionulli, or adventurers, nothing could be more politic for the exaltation of the Padishah's influence over that of any country chief or prince, than the nomination of a stranger who had already gained the respect and confidence of the common men by his gallantry on the battlefield.

By this means the feudal system was gradually sopped up. The only barrier to the power, the absolute and unlimited power, of the Sultan was broken down. Other princes, suffered by the loss in battle of a great leader, who was succeeded by his inexperienced son perhaps; but the

Sultan gained by the death of his Timariots, for their forces, under a new chief, became imperial instead of feudal.

It was only in some of the distant and outlying provinces of the Turkish Empire, such as in Khoordistan and in Bosnia, that the hereditary system was maintained; because in those places the wild and warlike tribes either wandered about the country in tents, or else fortified themselves in little castles constructed in unassailable positions among the mountain fastnesses.

The regular Turkish cavalry, paid out of the Sultan's treasury, were called Spahees. Many of them wore a kind of chain-armour, and besides a sort of iron-mounted baton, which they hurled with surprising dexterity, each man was armed with a scimitar as well as a long lance; they also carried pistols or carbines, of which they made very little account, declaring that, except for the purpose of frightening poltroons with the noise of their explosion,—they were of no use.

Supported by the Janizaries, who always fought on foot, they made headlong charges

among the enemy; but, if failing to rout them after three onsets—they invariably abandoned the enterprise, and hastily retired.

Although the Asiatic Spahees were better mounted, and presented, from their gaudy dresses, dangling horse-trappings, and showy accoutrements, a more imposing appearance than their European brethren, the latter were braver, much better disciplined, and from their constant hostilities with the Hungarians, Poles, and Germans, more learned in all the arts of civilised warfare.

These Spahees could hardly be looked upon as common troopers. They frequently brought as many as thirty followers to the field with them, so that with all their tents, retinue, and led horses, they often rode proudly at the head of a very considerable throng. They might, without impropriety, be described as the country gentlemen of Turkey.

They were, however, a very mutinous, insolent, and troublesome set; and it is only another proof of the power of the great central authority which made everything bend before it, that

the Grand Wuzeer often caused them to be unmercifully cudgelled on the soles of their bare feet, while he inflicted a similar castigation on the behinds of the Janizaries.

The former punishment was considered suitable to cavalry because it did not interfere with their riding, and the latter to infantry because it did not impede in any way their walking powers.

The regular establishment of the Turkish army exceeded one hundred and fifty thousand men, and when to these were added the whole male population of Mussulmans, always ready to take the field for offensive or defensive operations, some idea of the immense strength of the Ottoman forces may be formed.

They were far superior in training discipline and numbers, during the sixteenth century, to the army of any Christian state.

Under Soliman the Magnificent, or, as the Turks call him, the Legislator, the finances and military establishment of the empire were controlled and regulated with extreme wisdom; and as during nearly the whole of his illustrious

reign he was constantly engaged in war, the irregular levies became almost equal to the Janizaries in discipline and courage.

The duty of every man in the army was laid down with a precision which could only have been learned from long practice. Men were carefully told off for the purpose of constructing batteries, trenches, and breastworks. The skirmishers were always followed by Baltagies or Pioneers, as well as by men carrying baskets of stones and earth—fascines and gabions—with which to throw up cover against the fire of an enemy, or to strengthen and make unassailable some newly-seized position.

The armourers, with which the army was well supplied, were responsible that the swords and firelocks were kept clean and free from rust; and a regular baggage-guard—one for the protection of the infantry camp-equipage, and another for that of the cavalry—had never any other duties to perform except those required for the defence and movements of the commissariat and ammunition stores placed specially under their care.

Guicciardini declares that the Italians learned the art of fortifying towns from the Turks. Their artillery, besides being well served, was composed of the largest and best cast guns in the world; and there can be no doubt whatever that the Ottoman army was not only far superior in material, men, and discipline to that of any other nation; but that, with regard to its interior economy and military improvements of every kind, its organisation must be considered quite perfect.

The Turks were an army encamped in the countries which they conquered; and the Christians of that mighty empire were the suttlers and drudges, who, like camp followers or slaves, often became rich in the exercise of those trades or professions to which alone they could apply themselves.

Although they supplied the wants of the Turks who lived by their industry and handicrafts, they were looked upon with contempt. They were excluded or prohibited from the exercise of any manly trade, and it was not uncommon to see a dignified Turk tucking up the

sleeves of his richly furred pelisse in order to fasten on the shoe of his horse. The Christian's word was not believed in a court of justice. His dress was so regulated as to cause him to be ashamed of his own appearance, and as he was forbidden to carry arms, and incapable of defending himself, he moved about very cautiously and with faltering steps when in the vicinity of his overbearing and martial Mussulman masters.

Quickness of justice is of all things most suitable to the bent of the Oriental mind; and the almost amusing rapidity with which crime was at once punished may be taken as one of the principal causes of the stability of Turkish rule.

Every misdemeanour against the discipline of the state was visited with the chastisement of death; for violence, severity, and cruelty are the natural characteristics of a government originally founded during war, and submitted to the arbitrary will of a commander. The people are easily subjected to a tyranny and servitude to which they and their

martial ancestors had for ever been accustomed.

As the Turks lived in a state of continual war, or at all events preparation for it, it is not curious if their laws were severe. Servitude and obedience are natural to their social and political conditions; and the proof of their fitness is that the Turks throve and prospered, and were most happy and contented under that fearful discipline which, in the space of three hundred years, caused them to grow from a horde of wandering shepherds into a mighty Power.

The remains of that excellent discipline distinguishes the Turks of the present day. It is one of the causes of their surprising vitality; for although their common soldiers are led by a set of louts and clowns who would be ridiculed and jeered, instead of obeyed, by the soldiers of any modern European Power, they command such astonishing subservience from their subordinates, that it can only be explained by their constant submission to that ancient tyranny, which in their opinion is as natural

and wholesome as the very diet on which they have been nourished from their infancy.

It is a proof of the surprising effects that can be wrought by education.

At first sight it appears very extraordinary how the Turks were able, notwithstanding the so-to-say smallness of their numbers—to rule and keep in complete subjection the different nations which have submitted to their iron yoke. Their power of doing so was, however, very effectually favoured and assisted by several causes: the principal among which was the discordance and mutual hatreds of the races whom they reduced to subjection.

The regions which till recently composed what is known to geographers as the Turkish Empire have ever been the scenes of contests, carnage, barbarous invasions and savage warfare. The Persians, the Romans, the Goths, the Russians, the Arabs, the Vandals, the Tartars, and the Crusaders have alternately conquered and been conquered in these pleasant and delicious climates.

All these different races have left descendants

in the land; but this variety of tribes and nations composing the subject population of the Sublime Porte only made it all the more easy for the brave and haughty Osmanli to maintain and exercise his unrelenting and intolerant sway. There are no roads, and separated from each other by mountains and seas, by the impediments of different languages, and above all things by that intense hatred of sects which breeds antipathies so venomous as to be altogether surprising, the Christians were deprived of anything resembling combination or fixity of purpose.

On the other hand, the Turks were in command of all the fortresses, as well as of the whole military strength of their vast empire, and professing as they do a similar religion, and animated as they are by a common interest and an unreasoning fanaticism and bigotry, which supplies the place of patriotism, they domineered over multitudes several times more numerous than themselves.

Wherever the Romans conquered they made laws for the protection and propitiation of the

people whom they had subdued. They *respected* their customs, religions, and prejudices. The Turks, on the contrary, never did anything of the kind; but by laying waste the countries which they overran, and maltreating and persecuting their inhabitants,—succeeded in establishing a rule founded on brute force or the terror inspired by it.

From the reign of Mahommed the Second, who took Constantinople, to that of Soliman, who conquered the kingdom of Hungary, a succession of able administrators and wise commanders ruled over the Turkish Empire; which, during the sixteenth century, had attained to the highest degree of perfection of which its constitution is capable.

Nevertheless, an Empire without a hereditary nobility, or without any of those institutions absolutely necessary for the limitation of the rigour of monarchical power, must sooner or later end in anarchy or tyranny. Every kind of nobility was destroyed by the policy of the Ottomans; and consequently there was no barrier either to circumscribe the au-

thority of the Sultans; or to serve as an impediment to their caprice.

As long, however, as justice was respected, and when such able commanders as Selim, Soliman, or Murad overawed their subjects, and ruled them with a wise and paternal despotism, altogether similar to that with which a great general watches over the welfare and good order of his troops,—the empire was terrible to its enemies and peaceable at home. Under inactive or slothful rulers, the greatest excesses and bloodshed stained even the thrones of the Padishahs; yet it is worthy of attention that the law, surviving every revolution, has ever been preserved with religious veneration.

Unlike the Pretorian Guards, who placed creatures of their own choice on the throne, the Janizaries never dared to alter the fundamental institutions of the empire; for although the masters were often changed, the constitution always remained immutable and sacred in their eyes.

Every revolution then, was a revolution in the palace, whose only object was a change of

tyrants; but there never has been any attempt to extend the liberties of the people.

By those immutable laws which govern the human mind, every man esteems in other people ideas and characteristics in accordance with his own. He hates, on the other hand, opposite sentiments. For these reasons the able prince surrounds his throne with able men; while the ignorant occupant of it favours only parasites and flatterers who minister to his pleasures.

An Eastern born on the throne is rarely worthy of it. As a general rule the greatest princes owed their genius to the austerity of their education, or to the dangers or troubles with which their youth had been tried. A Sultan taken from a prison or from the frivolous education of the seraglio to rule over a vast empire, must necessarily be ignorant of the duties to which his destiny calls him.

Incapable of any application, the science of government becomes odious to him. He soon gets surrounded with favourites as stupid as himself. The vices and virtues of men are the

effects, first, of their education, and secondly, of the position in which they are placed by chance. The most cruel and bloodthirsty Sultans have often been only timorous or weak; but they have been forced to commit crimes and atrocities by the subtleties of those whose great object was to get a share of that arbitrary power under which the empire groaned.

In order to command slaves, it is necessary for the despot to employ a military force; but unless that force is well and carefully disciplined, it soon begins to perceive that there is no power in the state capable of resisting it. The cowardice, effeminacy and lethargy not only of the Sultans, but also of the corrupt and feeble officers who were sent from the seraglio to command soldiers, destroyed the good order and economy of the Janizaries.

Their constitution was altered. Their old training was no longer enforced; and, about two hundred years ago, they seem to have lost all discipline. Every measure capable of flattering their vanity or encouraging their turbulence was employed. To cajole them, the Grand

Wuzeer had his name inscribed on their muster-roll; as if to proclaim that the dignity of Janizary was the highest in the empire, and such as any minister might be proud of.

Their chiefs, whom they constantly murdered, took the government of the country into their hands. They flogged, bastinadoed, and put to death the highest officers of the state; and were actually told in a public exhortation by one of their Agas, named Meer Houssein, to "Take everywhere, wherever you choose, your food, your candles, and whatever you want; thank God, the Sultan requires not all those things."

For many years the Janizaries acted according to this advice. Men were freely admitted into their ranks without performing the necessary apprenticeship; and clowns, beggars, and wood-carriers, unable to manage a musket and totally ignorant of the use of arms, became members of the Brotherhood. The ancient custom of specially training the children of Christians for this service was entirely abandoned; and in their places, poverty-stricken and

ill-conditioned vagabonds from Turkey in Asia, not only brought the order into contempt and disrepute in time of peace, but disgraced it with their cowardice before the enemy.

The old veteran officers, who, notwithstanding their turbulence and sedition, were all stout soldiers and strict disciplinarians, and from common men had risen to high commands, were removed or put to death, and their places occupied by soft and effeminate youths, become captains or colonels, not from their valour, but by means of the money and presents they could afford to give the Aga.

They were no longer compelled to live in barracks; but residing, here and there, about the town, kept shops or exercised different kinds of trades, as though they were not soldiers at all. Money, and not valour, merit, or distinguished actions,—was the only reason for their promotion; and, by means of bribes, hale young men were exempted from any further service, while, like worn-out, old pensioners, they enjoyed all the numerous privileges belonging to the order.

By the grossest corruption and abuses, the Janizaries became a kind of society whose ramifications or lodges extended throughout the whole of Turkey. The Sultans, the Wuzeers, the Pashas, the Cadis, even their own Agas, and in fact everyone in the country, trembled at their insolence, and cursed and feared them with equal reason.

By degrees they took the place of those constitutional restraints which in other countries were formed for the restriction of the too absolute power of the monarch. Oppressed Christians, purchasing their protection by means of large bribes, often obtained an irregular defence against the rapacity of the Pashas ; because the Janizaries were in reality the ruling power of Turkey ; and, unless by attaching themselves in some way or other to the order, or else by paying them for their good offices, no poor man could count on security or peace.

The treachery, cruelty, and barbarity with which the Janizaries were massacred and the fraternity suppressed about fifty years ago, by the so-thought ultra-liberal Sultan Mahmood,

annihilated for ever anything like the expression of public opinion in Turkey.

It is natural that the Sultan should use his best endeavours to provide himself with faithful officers, able and capable of carrying out his wishes; for the Turkish Government ought to be considered an army whose chief or general issues orders for well foraging the whole country.

Nothing can be more remarkable than the influence which a chief or despot's temper exercises over all his dependents. These sycophants watch, with the greatest attention, the respect, contempt, or consideration which visitors receive from their master; and endeavour to treat them accordingly, after the latter have quitted their patron's presence.

Whether a Pasha rises to receive a guest, or whether he receives him without getting up; whether he asks him to be seated, or whether he gives him a pipe or a cigarette, sugared or unsugared coffee, are all matters of great importance; notwithstanding their insignificance, generally even their imperceptibility, to Euro-

peans ignorant of the niceties and refinements of Turkish etiquette.

Anxious to be served by men entirely subservient to their wishes, the Sultans trained a body of youths whose education inculcated the principle of blind obedience to the Sublime Porte as the first and most important duty of their lives. These servants of the Government were called Ichoglans, and were either the offspring of Christian parents or else the sons of people from whom they had been taken as slaves.

Having no interests contrary to those of their lord and master, the Padishah, and being entirely without any of those family affections resulting from a knowledge of, or communication with, their own kindred,—it was considered that the law of necessity would make them obedient and faithful to the Seraglio at Constantinople.

Anything more cruel and severe than the training of these boys it is impossible to conceive. Placed in charge of the eunuchs, always as tyrannical and capricious as women, they were flogged or bastinadoed for the slightest

fault, forgetfulness, or inattention. No monks endured such fastings, penances, and mortifications. Their spirits appeared very often to be altogether broken, and so great is the force of habit, that it was remarked that whenever they spoke they bowed their heads, clasped their hands, and adopted all those cringing or abject attitudes which a constant dread of punishment made a natural and unaffected part of their outward demeanour.

They were never out of sight of a eunuch, who, whether they went to the bath, to their sleeping-rooms, or to their meals, watched them even as the warders of a prison guard and spy upon its inmates.

In order to prevent any pleasant conversation or behaviour, lights burned all night in their sleeping apartments, and every five or six boys were specially eyed and looked after by an odious eunuch from the moment they lay down to rest till they got up again.

They busied themselves throughout a great part of the day in the practice of such manly and martial exercises as drawing the bow,

throwing iron bars, or darting the gerid or javelin. The least remissness, awkwardness, or sloth in the performance of any of these tasks drew down upon the culprit a punishment equally summary and cruel. As they grew in years, they became as dexterous in the use of arms as they were servile to their tyrants. They learned all the duties of the most passive obedience, though it does not appear quite so evident that they were, as the Turks said, for that very reason all the more fitted to command.

To this severe physical training was added an instruction in some trade or handicraft; and as soon as the young student had mastered the by no means easy art of reading fluently and writing correctly in the Turkish language,—he was compelled to study both Arabic and Persian: the first in order to enable him to digest the Koran as well as the writings of the received expounders of the Mussulman law; and the second so that his conversation and letters might be enriched and refined with the many high-sounding phrases and pompous ex-

pressions borrowed by the Ottomans from that tongue.

In addition, they were instructed in a few poetical works and romances, besides vocabularies of Persian and Arabic phrases which they learned by heart.

Others, destined for the priesthood, were taught to repeat the Koran from beginning to end; and although the study of geography, logic, or mathematics seems to have been entirely neglected, some of the most diligent and studious paid sufficient attention to astronomy to enable them to pass off as astrologers, who, by consulting the stars, could predict future events.

According to their proficiency, but more especially on account of the beauty of their faces and figures,—they were promoted into higher grades or chambers; of which the most distinguished were in personal attendance on the Sultan.

From among these, men were selected as ambassadors or bearers of firmans and messages to the greatest Pashas or tributary princes of the Porte. Their influence was as unbounded

as their pride; and in consequence of the large sums of money which they received as bribes or peace-offerings, they became, in a very few years, enormously rich.

The Pashas and governors who ruled and administered the whole of Turkey were chosen from among them; and, considering the excellent education by which they were fitted for their important places,—the only wonder is that the Turkish Empire has lasted so long as it has done.

Unless by the special favour of the Sultan, none of these individuals left the Seraglio in order to take up an important command till he had completed his fortieth year, at which age it was thought that he had been perfectly grounded in that passive obedience to authority, which it had been the entire object of education to instil into his mind.

Perhaps from the force of habit, or perhaps because he well knew, from many examples, that the power of the women and eunuchs could still, and notwithstanding his advancement, hurl him from his seat of honour to a dungeon,

the newly appointed Pasha took leave of the Capa Aga, whom he hated and despised from the bottom of his heart,—with every demonstration of respect, servility, and even love.

In a manner somewhat similar, he bade farewell to the other eunuchs, as well as to the principal officers of the Seraglio. He begged that they might not forget him in his absence, and swearing that he would be as obedient to them as he had always been, His Excellency set out to take possession of the principality of which he was the absolute and despotic ruler.

The slave was turned into a tyrant, whose ideas of government, derived from the harsh and cruel discipline under which he had himself grown up, taught him to treat all his subjects or subordinates with a violence, contempt, and rigour exactly similar to what he had always been accustomed; and, dazzled by a comparison of his exalted dignity of the present moment with his former servile condition, he became in a short time as petulant and capricious as the Padishah himself.

The castles of all these provincial governors, as well as the Seraglio at Constantinople, were filled with youths drilled and tyrannised according to the established custom; so that the whole Government of Turkey, from the highest Pashas down to the smallest village official, was permeated with a set of men in whom the principle of blind obedience to the Sultan was, so to say, an article of religious faith.

Except employment in the service of the Government, there was no title to distinction, and every officer of the Porte, from the Pasha to the meanest Janizary or Spahee, claimed and received a deference that was considered the right of a person who interpreted and enforced the wishes of the Commander of the Faithful.

Disobedience to what he considers lawful authority is altogether foreign to the lucubrations of a Turk; and if he thinks that it is done by the Sultan's command, he will bear every ill-usage with a patience and resignation altogether marvellous.

All men who receive any pay from the Sultan are honoured with the title of Kul or

slave. This dignity is enjoyed by the poorest soldier as well as by the most powerful Pasha and even by the Grand Wuzeer himself; for the whole Turkish Government is founded upon and supported by a slavery so abject, that it has been truly said, the sword of every superior official was constantly suspended over the heads of those beneath him.

The highest dignitaries of the empire are no more than tenants at will, ever liable to be removed, replaced, or disgraced at the caprice of the Grand Seignior, who, on one celebrated occasion, promoted a cook of the Janizaries to be his prime minister because he said to the Sultan, whom he met walking in a disguise about the streets, "Were I the Wuzeer, I would not only cause great plenty of meat in this city, but at all times of the day it should be found by those who wanted it."

This man is said to have proved a "famous and excellent" minister of state.

The highest officer of state in Turkey is never sure of his position for a single moment, and for that reason the scraping

together of wealth becomes his only preoccupation.

Like all men who devote their attention to a single subject, the Turkish Pashas display a marvellous ingenuity in enriching themselves during an incredibly short space of time; and, by means of cunningly devised tricks or misapplications of the law, often become so exceedingly wealthy that the bribes, which they can offer to people in authority, secure them for ever against the least fear of punishment.

The greatest enmity can be softened by a present of money; and when the clamours against the turpitudes of a wicked Pasha became dangerously loud, he silenced them by disgorging a little of his booty.

It was impossible for an honest man to remain in power; for "You see," said one of the Grand Wuzeers, "how few enjoy or grow old herein; their virtue, their care, or their innocence are no protection. Some remain a day, a week, a month, others protract the thread to a year or two; but at length they are like the ant,

to whom God gives wings for their speedier destruction."

The object of Government was not to procure the greatest happiness for the greatest number; but it was rather a means for satisfying the caprices, passions, and fantasies of those in power. There was no idea of police or of public order; and the only occupation of a Pasha was, so that he might become rich in as short a time as possible, to seize money wherever he can find it.

Woe to the unhappy Armenian who was known to be the possessor of wealth! His only chance of preserving it untouched was to simulate extreme poverty, for he was ever surrounded by spies ready to cite him for being too rich before a man in power. For this offence, or on the mere suspicion of it, he was sentenced to pay a fine, and flogged unmercifully, or even killed if he could not do so.

The cultivator, well knowing that he would never be allowed to enjoy the fruit of his work, avoided as much as possible those agricultural labours which are the principal source of wealth

in the country. Industry languished because there was no security. The richest and most fertile provinces in the world became a desert where the fox and the jackal howled and wandered among ruins whose desolate columns, indicative of ancient good government and prosperity, are an eternal reproach to that Turkish rule of which it has been truly said that the grass never grows where their horses have trod.

The Janizaries, it is true, were often the terror of the Pasha; but, composed as they were of a set of artisans and vagabonds who guarded the doors of whoever paid them for doing so,—they were ever ready to take part in any mutiny, rebellion, revolt, or revolution most likely to benefit themselves.

Turkey has constantly been the theatre of numerous little wars, but they have always been brought about by rivality for power; for the people, accustomed only to blind obedience and passive submission to authority, bow without a murmur before whoever is daring and

powerful enough to impose his yoke upon them.

The great man of to-day may become a wood-cutter to-morrow, and the sons of a Governor serve cheerfully and faithfully in the retinue of a usurper who has ruined their father.

The incredible stories of the Arabian Nights are not the inventions of a romantic mind, but they are faithful and true descriptions of the extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune constantly occurring in the East since the days of Esther and Ahasuerus.

A shoemaker or a barber has often become a Pasha, an admiral, or even a prime minister; and the fall of such men is often more rapid than their ascent to power.

As no one can foretell what his future may be, every change of fortune is attributed to the eternal laws of fate, which the experience of a Turk teaches him cannot be resisted by any efforts of his own. With a few pious remarks about the inscrutability of the ways of God, he accepts good or bad fortune with equal equani-

mity, and quietly submits to oppression or to the alienation of enormous wealth with a placidity and apparent indifference altogether incredible to people who have lived under a regular government and stable institutions.

In Europe, peace and tranquillity depend upon the honesty and intelligence of the upper classes; and the public wealth upon the industry of the masses. In Turkey, everything depends upon the Sultan, whose despotic authority can make itself felt in every department of the state.

If he were a man of ability, order was maintained, industry and property were protected; but if, on the contrary, he was an effeminate and weak prince—and such has been the character of the Sultans for many generations—the fearful state of anarchy, oppression, and mal-administration under which Turkey has so long languished, was maintained and consolidated to an extent that eventually made all hope of reform a foolish and chimerical project.

This fabric of slavery throve in the camp;

but it presents to the philosophical observer "the perpetual round of valour, greatness, discord, degeneracy, and decay."

The same fine human material exists among the Mussulman population of Turkey; but its proper direction and adaptation to modern requirements is altogether wanting.

It can only be compared to a great army which has lost cohesion for want of commanders. No rewards exist for virtue, and there is no punishment for thriving vice.

At the expiration of his term of office, a Pasha, whose conduct (if such a man ever existed) was irreproachable—was certain to be accused of venality and extortion; and unless he was rich enough to bribe some of the courtiers, eunuchs or women, his eyes were put out or his property confiscated.

Well knowing the necessity of being wealthy enough for this purpose, he plundered the village and extracted the last penny from the miserable cultivators, till a regular system of robbery pervaded every class from the Seraglio to the cottage.

All laws, human and divine, were violated with unparalleled effrontery, and even the decision of a judge depended altogether on the price given for it. The commanders of the troops, open to every kind of bribery and corruption, were totally ignorant of the simplest duties of their profession; and it was by preferring charges against inferior officers, who paid fees to avoid punishment, that the principal source of their income was derived.

Avarice, venality, dissimulation, effeminacy and treachery, are the leading features in the character of nearly all Turkish officials, however high, however low, and by means of the prevalence of such demoralising and detestable vices every sentiment of honour and fidelity is banished from the Government.

The melancholy condition of Turkey is not the result of its Mahommedan creed, for there certainly have been excellent Moslem governments; and the Mussulman religion was by no means so intolerant as that of the Christians.

The latter were permitted the free exercise of their ceremonies under, certainly, very severe

restrictions; while the Jews, in order to avoid the most cruel persecutions, fled from different parts of the Continent into Turkey; but there was not a country in the whole of Europe where a Mahommedan mosque or the celebration of Moslem ceremonies would have been permitted for a single day.

The Turks, therefore, far from being intolerant as they have been represented, were on the contrary very tolerant indeed; and that laudable characteristic is one of the principal causes of their present weakness.

In the height of their power the Turks might have extirpated the Christian religion in their dominions, quite as easily as the Spaniards banished that of the Mussulmans from the Peninsula; and at one time a Sultan thought very seriously of doing so.

Such a proceeding would have caused an incalculable quantity of bloodshed, and there can be no doubt that the crown of martyrdom would have been very freely distributed; but the result, by leaving all men to the teaching of a single creed, would have removed those religious

animosities by which Turkey is divided, and the protection, intrigues, and interference of foreign countries in the interior affairs of the Ottoman Empire invited.

This wholesale and forcible conversion was only hindered by the warm opposition of the expounders of the Mahommedan law, whose decision on this important subject, as it contrasts in the brightest colours with the extreme cruelty exercised on heretics in different parts of Europe, ought to be pondered by those who thoughtlessly or ignorantly accuse the Ottomans of fanaticism and religious ferocity.

An ignorant Turk, positive that he is right and that everyone else is wrong, is at least as hard of heart towards those who have the misfortune to differ with him in opinion as is a stern and stupid Christian, under the same mental conditions, towards people who deny what he believes to be true; but the laws of the Ottomans contrast favourably with those of Europe in the last century.

The uncontrolled exercise of the reasoning

powers, as well as their fair trial at the bar of public opinion, was permitted (be it remembered, even in the United Kingdom), only since the French Revolution.

Not much more than a hundred and fifty years ago, a boy named Thomas Aikenhead, who among some of his friends expressed an opinion that Mahommed was a greater legislator and propagated a more rational religion than Jesus Christ,—was hung in Scotland for blasphemy; and even, until quite recently, the testimony in a court of justice of whoever doubted the truth of Christianity or the attributes of the Trinity was considered, by the laws of England, as useless and unreliable as was that of a Christian by the laws of Turkey.

So far back as the beginning of the last century the Turks, in consequence of the frequent and even friendly intercourse between Mussulmans and Europeans on the sea coast, began to lose a great deal of that morose pride and savageness by which their religion had hitherto been distinguished.

Hum^nity penetrated all classes. Heretofore,

puffed up by their victories over Christians, they compared the Sultan to a lion who might be teased but not hurt by the nations of Europe, which they likened to dogs; but as by degrees the Sublime Porte began to appreciate the Pope's power for mischief, the strength of the English, Dutch, and Venetians at sea, together with the inclination and affection of their Greek subjects for the rising Muscovite power, they, without perhaps hating the co-religionists of their despised Rayah one whit the less, became much more reasonable and respectful in their intercourse with them.

Ambassadors were no longer beaten and ill-treated; nor were their interpreters impaled for insolence in translating too literally their complaints.

Plenipotentiaries were no longer thumped and cuffed by the men who held them pinioned like felons on their introductions at court for the presentation of their credentials.

These and similar brutalities ceased by degrees; although the Turks, even when they meant to be most civil, could not avoid the use

of very discourteous and affronting expressions in their social intercourse with people professing a religion for which they have an inherent and self-satisfied contempt. When, for instance, Monsieur de la Haye informed the Grand Wuzeer Kuperli that the King of France had taken the city of Arras from the Spaniards, he received no other answer than, "What matters it to me whether the dog worries the hog or the hog worries the dog?"

The basis of public law, as well as the military institutions of Orchan, of Mourad, of Mahommed the Second, of Soliman the legislator, of Ahmed the First, and of Mahommed the Fourth, remain stationary; the precepts of the Koran are eternal and unchangeable; but all these have been interpreted and, so to say, developed in accordance with the great changes of conditions brought about by time.

The stability of Eastern institutions in opposition to the instability of those of the West is a favourite theme with our political writers; but this opinion results only from a superficial view, because all progress in the West reacts

slowly upon the East, and there exists even in Turkey a certain slow advancement towards *European* roguery, profligacy, and civilisation.

CHAPTER V.

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM.

Antagonism of Christianity to Mahommedanism.—Corruption of Christianity.—Toleration in Arabia.—Mahommed, at first an Enthusiast, becomes an Impostor.—A Benefactor to Mankind.—Mahommedanism an Off-shoot of Christianity.—Foretold by St. John.—Character of Mahommed.—Religious Concord in the World previous to the Introduction of Christianity.—Necessary Enmity of the two Creeds.

CHAPTER V.

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM.

It has been observed that whenever the internal affairs of Europe are peaceable, and whenever the rivalities or jealousies of the great powers sleep or remain inactive for a short time, that the innate and natural hatred of the Christian for the Mussulman causes hostilities or wars in some part of the world.

Nothing is more worthy of attention than this undying animosity between the professors of these religions; for while the Mahommedans love Jesus and hold the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin, the Christians revile the Prophet of Mecca with a spitefulness and violence only to be equalled by the coarse and

awkwardly concocted falsehoods with which they have aspersed his memory.

It was in this violent party spirit that the burning of the library at Alexandria was imputed to the Arabs under Amrou. The story has been copied by one learned author after another, and at the atrocity-meetings and other places it was used to fan up the religious fury of the Radicals in England against the much-maligned Turks.

No one had patience to inquire about the matter. The followers of Amrou were not Turks at all. The library at Alexandria was destroyed by fanatical Christians nearly three hundred years before the irruption into Egypt of the Mussulmans, while the only evidence for attributing this wanton destruction to the Moslem conquerors of the country, is the report of a stranger who wrote six hundred years after the event which he professes to describe.

The Mussulman religion positively forbids the burning of any book containing even the name of God, and it permits all historical, scientific, or philosophical compositions, whether

the work of Jews or Christians, to be applied to the service of useful investigation.

Many profane treatises, including the celebrated Geography of Ptolemy, were translated into Arabic for the use of Mahommedans, to whom we are, indeed, indebted for the application of those geometrical principles and astronomical observations displaying the figure and dimensions of the terrestrial globe, and afterwards adopted by Europe.

The mutual hatred of Mussulmans and Christians appears to go back to the origin of the religion of Mahommed.

Previously to the introduction of Christianity —if we except the unsocial and morose Jews— differences of faith and worship seem to have given no cause for persecution or even for dislike. The tolerant Romans freely adopted the local gods of the people whom they had conquered, and considered them as a part of the prejudices which they professed to respect.

Thus theological rancour was unknown, and nobody hated his neighbour on account of his

opinion. "I come not," said our Saviour Himself, "to bring peace on earth, but a sword;" and the numerous religious wars and massacres which have taken place since that remarkable prophecy was spoken, are not the least marvellous of the consequences of the introduction of Christianity.

The Christian religion set itself in direct opposition to all others, and refused even a hope of salvation to whoever was beyond the pale of the church.

It was one of the great causes of the subversion of the Roman Empire; it altered ancient forms of superstition, but nevertheless the old worship, which had such a strong hold on the minds of the Pagans, was revived under somewhat similar forms, though with a change of names. Christianity attacked alone and single-handed the fantastic, time-honoured, though foolish religious customs of antiquity; it preserved for a few years the purity of morals preached to mankind by Christ and His apostles, but the conquest was nullified from its own vastness, and the so-called Christians of the

East, by insensibly adopting some of the grossest forms of Polytheism, went back to the whimsies of idolatry.

"Instead of those deities conceived by the understanding," says a Roman writer, "the monks have invented a new worship. The heads salted and pickled of the most infamous malefactors are now consecrated for the veneration of the people. These," says he, "are the gods which the earth produces in our days."

The innumerable martyrs, saints, and relics whose worship was introduced as part of the Christian faith, — have been described with justice as the veritable re-establishment of Polytheism under the forms of new gods and idols in the places of those which had been destroyed.

Every church possessed a saint, every locality was noted for a miracle, and these appeals to the senses of the ignorant caused them to forget the Divinity, while their credulity or devotion was absorbed in the contemplation of some implement of superstition. A journey was undertaken under the protection of a saint; cures were effected by pilgrimages to shrines,

and dangerous passes across mountains contained images of new gods for the devotion of travellers.

It would have been difficult to doubt the constant intervention of these saints; because every shrine contained the crutches of cripples who had been cured, representations of the eyes of those who had received their sight, and pictures (always proof positive to the illiterate or unskilful) of the doings of a St. George, a St. Denis, or a St. Patrick.

The austere morals of the early Christians were one of the many causes which assisted its marvellous extension over the face of the earth; for the poor and lowly are always ready to adopt a creed which reproves vices that they themselves can never indulge in.

The great majority of mankind easily conforms to modes of thought which vanity ascribes to their own wit, and which habit confounds with morality and virtue. The beliefs, and in the main even the conduct of the masses; are formed on the models of their superiors; but the Christian theology was no sooner adopted

by the upper classes than it was forced upon the multitude. The senseless superstition of the barbarian chiefs easily assisted their conversion; and the convictions of such men as the formidable Alaric, Genseric, or Huneric, were at least powerful helps to the teaching of the Bishops who had been sent to these savages from Rome.

The consoling doctrine of the immortality of the soul, the numerous miraculous events so pleasing to the senses of the ignorant, and the punishments which, both in this world and the next, were promised to the infidel who should refuse the revelations of the new creed, were potent agents to the spread of Christianity, whose further extension was at length arrested by the employment against it of the same arms by means of which it had been so extensively propagated.

The success of the Mussulman religion, under the teaching of Mahommed, is principally marvellous on account of the refinement and simplicity of its creed, whose fundamental doctrine is the unity and omniscience of the

Almighty, and whose teaching is generally in accordance with both philosophy and reason.

Christianity was a necessary result of Judaism, and Mahommedanism grew out of both. The Arabs, as well as the Jews, discovered in Abraham a common progenitor; and it was he who, according to the traditions of the former, founded Mecca.

The twenty-first verse of the second chapter of Exodus bears witness that Moses married an Arab woman. The Book of Job, perhaps the oldest in the Bible, was without any doubt originally written in the language of the Arabs; for to this day its Hebrew version contains upwards of one hundred words in the mother tongue of Mahommed, which the Jewish translator was unable to render in the poorer idiom of the Israelites.

The ancient Arabs were as tolerant as the Romans. Sabians, Magians, Jews, besides many of the whimsical sects into which the pure religion of the apostles had wandered, fled to Arabia from persecution; and in the perfect enjoyment of the free air of religious

liberty, both natives and strangers must have learned to marvel at the necessity of different ceremonies for the worship or propitiation of the only God, who, although acknowledged by 'all in a fundamental article of faith, was certainly almost forgotten among the most frivolous or debasing ceremonies.

Some of the stupid rites still practised at the Caaba at Mecca (not at Mahommed's tomb, which is situated at Medina) appear to be of very ancient date; but the idols with which it was disfigured no longer exist.

The religion of Mahommed declared on his own authority, and without any prevarication, the existence of a single and supreme God, without a rival, like that of the ancient Persians; and without a son, like that of the Christians.

Mahommed pretended that this belief had been taught to mankind by a succession of prophets from Adam to Jesus Christ. He professed only to revive the pure religion of antiquity; but the rite of circumcision, as well as an abstention from pigs' flesh, was forced upon the Arabs by the custom of ages.

The accusations charging Mahommed with pandering to the sensuality of his followers, in order to popularise his religion, are quite unsupportable; for although he only restricted the unlimited polygamy of the Arabs to four legitimate wives, his total prohibition of all drugs or liquids capable of producing intoxication, as well as the rigid and withering fasts which he instituted, are in themselves ample refutations of such awkward calumnies.

As every polite Arab believed in a supreme God, the teaching of Mahommed was rather a purification than an alteration of the religion of his countrymen; but the authority, by which he proclaimed himself the last and greatest of the prophets, was confirmed by his own talents, courage, and determination; as well as by an enthusiasm which, although in the first instance only a kind of religious ecstasy,—ended, as he wondered at his own success and the credulity of mankind, in making him one of the most daring and impertinent impostors that the world has ever seen.

He was notwithstanding a real benefactor to

mankind, for he rescued millions of men from the grossness and turpitudes of the vilest fetish worship, paganism and idolatry; and to this day the missionaries of his religion in Africa are weaning, and that too on a very extensive scale,—its barbarous inhabitants from some of their most reprehensible customs. These missionaries can hold their own against preachers of the Gospel among tribes who are perhaps scarcely ready all of a sudden for the pure religion of Christ; and to whose imperfect state of civilisation, the dispensation of Mahommed is believed by several philosophers to be much more befitting.

In the several journeys made by Mahommed in charge of Cadeeja's camels, he had many opportunities of meeting and conversing with Christians. The story of the monk Sergius, who helped him to compose his senseless rhapsodies in the Koran, may be true or false; but it appears quite certain that Mahommed, as well as others, tried to draw pure religion from the teaching of Abraham.

Like many innovators of quite modern times,

they endeavoured to purify their sects by imitating what they believed to be the faith and practice or simplicity of antiquity; but efforts made by men to draw positive proofs and conclusions from the scanty and often contradictory accounts forming the only tangible basis from which they can make deductions, are generally as ill compacted as they are disappointing.

The philosophy of Plato, there can be very little doubt, exercised a remarkable influence on the doctrines and dogma of the Christians. He was considered an inspired man, and he is often mentioned by the early fathers as the *divine* Plato. The converted Jews of Alexandria adopted his system, and passed off a philosophical composition called the Wisdom of Soloman as really the work of that sagacious monarch.

The First Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Ephesians publishes a doctrine displaying the greatest animosity towards the Jews. He even curses his opponents at the eighth verse. In the third chapter of the Koran, Mahommed declares that Abraham was an orthodox Mussul-

man; and the fourth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, as well as other passages in his writings, propounds in the same manner that Abraham, rather than Moses the *Jewish* legislator,—was a true Christian.

According to the Mussulmans, the early Christians, who received orally the teaching of our blessed Lord, practised after the manner of Christ Himself and His disciples,—the laws of Moses; and the first fifteen bishops of the pure and primitive Christian church, founded only forty days after the death of Jesus,—were all circumcised Jews.

The Greek or Gentile Christians, under the teaching of Paul, separated, and even became hostile to the parent stock; but the Ebronites, or, as they were sometimes called, Jewish Christians, who were faithful to the laws of their founder, and who are believed to have numbered the family and relatives of the Messiah among their congregation,—have long since ceased to exist.

The Gentile Christians, according to the Mahommedan doctors, divided into numerous

sects, and, disguised or improved by many philosophical speculations, extended over the face of the earth.

Every event connected with the life and actions of Mahommed is an historical fact, which (with the exception of the usual marvellous trivialities embellishing nearly all writings of that period) can hardly admit of serious doubt or dispute.

His knowledge of Christianity, of which he appears to have enjoyed a very superficial view, taught him to despise the different sects who reviled and maltreated, when they were powerful enough, anyone refusing to accept some of their truly extraordinary views about the nature of the Divinity, the government of the world, or the discipline of the Church.

He accordingly invented a religion of his own. In his teaching he appealed to the authority of Adam, Moses, Noah, Abraham—whom I believe he confounded with Zoroaster—and Jesus Christ Himself, the last and greatest Prophet sent by God to men, who refused to believe Him.

The Marcionite and Manichean Christians held that the rage of the Jews was wasted in the crucifixion of a phantom, and the ignorance of Mahommed is displayed by his adoption of their theory of the events which took place at Jerusalem at the time of Pontius Pilate.

The coming of Christ was foretold in the prophecies of antiquity. The last dispensation was offered to mankind by Mahommed; and the Mussulman religion had also, he declared, been predicted by his predecessors from Adam to Jesus.

"But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in My name" (said the Messiah Himself in the twenty-sixth verse of the fourteenth chapter of St. John), "He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance whatsoever I have said unto you." A very slight change of letters in the word Paraclete or Comforter, *περικλυτος* for *παρακλητος*, according to the Greek etymology, gives the name of Mahommed.

The immortality of the soul was doubted by some of the philosophers of Greece and Rome,

but it was taught as a necessary or salutary doctrine by the priests of Egypt, India, Persia, and nearly all the great nations of antiquity. The Jews were ignorant of a future state, the Christians proclaimed it on the authority of their founder; but Mahommed cunningly added so many sensual allurements to his description of Paradise, that the libidinous and warlike Arabs often actually sought a death which should place them in contact with eternal voluptuousness.

The grandfather of Mahommed was an hereditary high-priest of the Caaba, and the reproach of humble birth (if it is a reproach), as applied to the Arabian sage, is a fraudulent or ignorant calumny.

He was descended from the tribe of Koreish and the family of Hashem, who were Princes of Mecca and hereditary Pontiffs of the Caaba, a black stone or rock said to have fallen down from heaven, and revered by all the Arabs (according to Diodorus Siculus) from immemorial time.

The contemporaries of the Prophet declare

that he exceeded all men in manly beauty; and the charm of his voice, as well as the splendour and elegance of his deportment, called forth the admiration and praises of his friends, of his countrymen, and above all, so they say, of his countrywomen.

Notwithstanding his impertinent challenge to men, angels, or devils, to copy the beauties of a single line—some of his writings (of which he said that God was the author and himself only a simple exponent) bear the stamp of genius; his exploits without doubt display the character of a soldier and a hero; and, although success seems to have turned him into an impostor who half believed his own charlatanism—his original conception manifests the working of a pious and courageous heart.

The real opinions of Mahommed are of course only open to conjecture; but his Koran certainly contains sublime passages on the nature and attributes of the Divinity. There can be no doubt that he purified the superstitions of whole nations; although several great writers accuse him of imposture from first to last, it

is very likely that (in the words of Comte) "a really superior man has never been able to exercise any great influence upon his equals without being, *in the first instance*, thoroughly convinced himself."

The dying man who looks calmly and confidently into the face of death, must be altogether indifferent and thoughtless, or else strengthened by the convictions of either religion or philosophy. Millions of men really believe that Mahommed was the Apostle of God, and some thoughtful writers, although accusing him of occasional imposture, consider nevertheless that he was a religious enthusiast.

This character was manifested by himself on his deathbed, where his imagination still credited the visits of the archangel Gabriel. Even then he displayed a lively faith in the special favour of the Almighty, and a few moments before his final dissolution exclaimed: "O God! pardon my sins. Yes—I come among my countrymen on high."

The Christian religion proclaimed, on the authority of a new revelation sent by the

Almighty to mankind—the immortality of the soul; but as the same doctrine had already been approved by philosophy, had been embraced by some learned nations of antiquity, and had even, as a consequence of their intercourse with polished strangers, been suspected by the Jews—it would perhaps in itself alone not have been a sufficiently strong incentive for its adoption by the Pagans, unless assisted by other motives.

Previously to the promulgation of Christianity, every religion was allowed to subsist in peace; the most opposite theological notions were never hostile to each other, and a conformity to the customs, beliefs, or ceremonies of superstition was practised according to the devotion or politeness of the ancients. Different legends or rites were added to existing religions; different tribes improved upon, borrowed, or copied the Gods of their neighbours; but no system of belief declared itself to be exclusively infallible, or searched for converts to increase its size.

The Christian missionaries not only asserted that their religion was certainly the true one, but

with great emphasis, and often in tones of the most furious denunciation—declared that every other except their own was false, pernicious, dangerous, and damnable; and further, that whoever refused to join their sect should not only be avoided in this world as a sinner or an idolater, but that in the world to come, without doubt, he would perish everlastingly, and that his very body and bones would be eternally burned in unquenchable fire.

In consequence of this significant assumption, the theological concord of the world was destroyed; and the Christians, separating from friendly intercourse with their neighbours, not only ordered them in the name of God to become members of their new sect, but by denouncing as heathens all those who refused to obey the summons, placed themselves in a position of direct hostility to every portion of mankind who declined at their bidding to abandon the beliefs consecrated by ages.

This unsociable exclusiveness has been traced to a Hebrew source; but the hatred of Mahommed for the Christians was only the natural

feeling of an innovator basing his belief and drawing his conclusions from the same premises out of which his opponents arrived at extremely different conclusions.

He dignified the Christians as well as the Jews with the title of People of the Book; but his highflown declaration of the necessity, the infallibility, and the truth of the Mussulman creed, in opposition to the folly and falsehood and damnableness of all others, was a wise and useful dogma, without which his antagonism to the religion, *not of Christ*, he said, but of the Christians, would have been deprived of its most important and trenchant weapon.

CHAPTER VI.

MUTUAL INTOLERANCE.

Extraordinary Extension of the two Hostile Creeds.—Toleration granted to the Christians.—Their Religion rendered despicable by Laws.—Christians made a Laughing-stock of.—Both Religions equally intolerant.—The Kissilbashes and their disgusting Love-feasts. — Different Turkish Sects.—Atheists.—The Yezidees or Devil-worshippers.—All these Sects socially Superior to Christians.—Turks Afraid of the Christians.

CHAPTER VI.

MUTUAL INTOLERANCE.

PROPAGATED by the successors of Mahommed, Islamism spread with a rapidity quite equal to that with which the Christian religion extended under the teaching of its missionaries.

The surprising victories of the Kalifs surrounded them with a blaze of glory, which, impressing the warlike tribes with high ideas of their magnificence and power, may have materially assisted their dogmatic style.

Growing out of a small sect or family, the Mahommedan faith stretched to the confines of China; and in the whole history of the world there is nothing so wonderful as the sudden spread of either creed.

The Greeks and the Romans, as well as the barbarous nations of the north, adopted and remained, as a general rule, faithful to the teaching of Christ; but most of those countries whose inhabitants had not been converted to Christianity embraced with zeal and ardour the undoubtedly sublime theology of the Arabian Prophet, whose religion to this day displays a vitality and power altogether marvellous, and far greater than that with which it is credited.

The gentleness or policy of Mahommed induced him, in the first instance, to invite the Jews and Christians to accept his more perfect revelation; but on the payment of a slight tribute they were allowed the free exercise of their religious worship. It was conviction rather than force which induced the great majority of proselytes to enrol themselves as Mussulmans under the green standard of the Prophet; but to this day the non-Mussulman subjects of the Porte enjoy the same liberty of conscience granted to the misbelievers by the first Kalifs.

The Christians were divided into communities called nations, in which they were governed,

under the protection of the Mussulman magistrate—by chiefs or bishops of their own persuasion. They enjoyed many privileges, and often became extremely rich as merchants, cultivators, or collectors of the revenue.

They were distinguished, nevertheless, by a very peculiar costume, resembling that of females; and forced to ride about on mules or donkeys, which they were even compelled to mount in the attitude of women, and without any of those martial appurtenances so much affected by professors of the dominant faith.

Their testimony was rejected in a court of justice, if it tended to the prejudice of a true believer; the use of bells was forbidden; the size of their houses or churches was regulated by law to a diminutive standard; and they were compelled to treat the poorest or meanest Mussulman whom they might chance to meet, with every demonstration of deference and respect.

This kind of toleration soon made the Christians servile, cowardly, deceitful, contemptible, and even ridiculous; and after the revolution of several centuries, their posterity at the present

time display, in an equal degree, the same disgusting characteristics.

Rather than submit to the Mahommedan yoke, every Asiatic Christian who was rich enough to do so, took his departure for Constantinople, which, enriched by the spoils of the provinces, became one of the finest cities in the world.

With the exception of the inhabitants of some of the large towns, the Christians of the East were a mean and servile people, as poor in spirit as they were in understanding; and the gross ignorance and immorality of their priesthood, the idolatrous nature of their picture or idol-adoring ceremonies, together with the cowardice and hypocrisy resulting, as a matter of course, from the severe laws, by which they were kept in a continual and hopeless state of subjection and of moral or intellectual slavery—caused their martial and overbearing masters of the dominant faith to look upon them with the same disdain and dislike as that with which a Spartan regarded a boorish and stupid Helot.

Their only chance of immunity was by be-

coming useful in some way or other to a Turk. They consequently entered the service of a Pasha or of some great man, and, not very particular as to the nature of the employment which they undertook, or the insults or ill-treatment which they received at the hands of their tyrants, often became exceedingly rich, and even powerful.

All their intercourse with Mussulmans showed, in a thousand ways, the withering mistrust with which their conduct was incessantly watched; and even when prompted by those personal interests, ever uppermost in their minds—to be good and faithful subjects of the Porte, their useful or patriotic labours were contemplated with jealous and distrustful eyes.

Such is the toleration given by the Turks to their Christian subjects; for, unable to force men's wills as easily as they can their bodies, everything is done in order to render them contemptible and their religion despicable.

When it is remembered with what care and trouble the men of civilised countries follow in

their dress and manners the fashion of the day, and delight to trick themselves out in coats and hats and trousers of the prevailing cut and form, provided similarly made garments or head-dresses are adopted by the upper classes—it is no wonder if a poor Greek or Armenian, a Rayah, as these Helots are called—tried to imitate as nearly as he dared the Turkish costume. Their hearts nearly burst with pride when, on some privileged occasion, they were allowed to appear in clothes somewhat resembling those of a Moslem.

"For thus," says Ricaut, "the Turk makes his very habit a bait to draw some to his superstition; riches to allure the covetous; rewards and hopes to rule the ambitious; fears and terrors of death the cowardly and timorous . . . Such as adhere to the Christian faith the Turks make no account of, and value no otherwise in the place of subjects than a man doth of his ox or ass, merely to carry the burdens and to be useful and servile in slavish offices; they are oppressed and are subject to all advantages and pretences; and their goods and estates, gained with labour

and the sweat of their brows, liable to the rapine of every great man; they are disarmed and never exercised in war, by which means they become effeminate and less dangerous in rebellion . . . . So that the oppression of the poor Christians under the Turk is worthy our compassion; how poor they are become, how their former wealth is exhausted! how the fatness of their rich soil is drained and made barren by poisonous suckers! So that it is evident that the Turk's design is no other than by impoverishment and enfeebling the interest of Christianity to draw proselytes and strength to his own kingdom."

"O infidels!" says Mahommed in the Koran, "I do not adore what you adore, and you adore not what I worship; observe you your law and I will observe mine." These tolerant sentiments appear to have emanated from the Prophet before he was puffed up with the pride of success; for a little later he sang in a much harsher key, crying: "When you meet with infidels, cut off their heads; kill them; take them prisoners; bind them until either you

think fit to give them liberty or pay their ransom; and forbear not to persecute them until they have laid down their arms and submitted."

In the same manner as new Army Warrants cancel old ones, the latest chapters of the Koran abrogated what had previously been promulgated on the same subject.

Mahommed nevertheless tolerated the Christians who had submitted to his arms; and his conduct in this respect contrasts very favourably indeed with the treatment received by Mussulmans at the hands of the former whenever they were strong enough to tyrannise and oppress them.

The Christian and Mussulman religions arrogated to themselves the right of governing the whole world; and anyone who refused to believe in the teaching of either creed was, according to their respective doctors, and in the words of the Gospel—to be "constrained."

In different parts of England and Europe, but more particularly in the north of Germany, there are certain sects calling themselves Protestants, whose faith and worship are infinitely

more approximate to those of the Turks than to those of the Eastern idolaters, ignorantly spoken of as our fellow-Christians.

The latter Schismatics hate the tenets of Calvin or Luther as much as they do those of Mahommed; and a heretic, in their eyes, is as bad as a Turk.

In Armenia there are many communities which, notwithstanding their worship and customs, equally disgusting and blasphemous in the eyes of both Turks and Christians—are nevertheless, by the laws or usage of the Sublime Porte, allowed a social equality with Mussulmans.

What can be more contrary to the teaching of the Moslem religion than the belief of the Kissilbashes, a people resembling in many respects the Druses of Mount Lebanon, and scattered throughout different parts of Armenia?

These odious sectaries are said, by men living in the same villages with them,—to practise during the nights of certain feasts, the abominable orgies attributed by St.

Epiphanius to the Gnostics, in the first centuries of the Christian era.

"Postquam enim inter se permixti fuerunt per scortationis affectum, insuper blasphemiam suam in cœlum extendunt," says the Saint in his first book against Heresies; but it would be impossible to translate into English the sickening description which in the following paragraphs he gives of their so-called love-feasts.

The nearest neighbours, whether Turks or Christians, of these extraordinary people—are altogether ignorant of the nature of their superstition; and, although living in the house of a Kissilbash for upwards of a month,—I was never able to get the least information from him on religious subjects, any allusion to which caused his hasty departure, after having given some evasive answers.

He sometimes professed to be a true Mussulman; but when no Turk was present, declared himself a Christian. It appeared, in fact, that he did not know what he was, although ever quite ready to take part in

any kind of religious service, so long as he was not bothered with questions.

Not very long after the death of Mahommed, the simplicity of his religion was, in a manner exactly similar to the innovations introduced into the teaching of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,—disfigured by the lucubrations of men who reasoned upon those abstruse subjects insusceptible of either demonstration or analysis.

People, who had adopted outwardly the system of Mahommed,—added thereto many prejudices and foolish whims of their own.

The transmigration of souls, invented or at least preached by Pythagoras; the good and evil principle of Zoroaster; together with a hundred other religious, metaphysical, or theological vagaries, were engrafted on the Mussulman faith.

The sect of Haietti believe (from a verse in the Koran) that Jesus Christ shall return to reign on earth before the destruction of the world.

That of Isi deny the eternity of the Koran; that of Kadari reject the doctrine of predestina-

tion; while that of Morgi hold that the elect, no matter how great their sins, can alone be saved.

There was even formed a body of atheists, who called themselves Muserin, signifying that the true secret was with them alone, and whose secret was neither more nor less than the absolute denial of either a future state or a Divinity governing the world and the affairs of men.

All these sectaries were looked upon nevertheless as Mussulmans.

A certain Mahommed Effendi, a very rich and learned man, was executed at Constantinople about two hundred years ago for publicly preaching that the existence of a Divinity was quite impossible, as, were it otherwise, such an enemy and scorner of the Divine essence as himself, would not be allowed to live. Had he confessed his error, he would have been pardoned; but, although believing that there was no reward for his constancy to such a foolish blasphemy,—he declared that a simple love of truth obliged him to die a martyr.

It is said that a great number of Cadis, and

other men learned in Arab literature, held these appalling notions, which are even reported to have crept into the Seraglio, where they grew into great favour with the eunuchs, the women, as well as with the Sultan Murad and several high officers of state.

The Kissilbashes are not to be confounded with the Persians, who from the colour of a head-dress or turban which they have long discarded —are also called Kissilbashes by the Turks.

These Kissilbashes of Armenia are often called Mumsconduren, or extinguishers of the candle; because, deceived by an unnatural syllogism or comparison, that he who engrafted the tree and planted the vine should rather taste of the fruit than resign the benefit of his labours to the enjoyment of others,—they hold it lawful to forget the instincts of nature; the holy relations, existing among the grossest savages, between parents and children; and during the darkness of night, and ignorant of their partners, to mingle promiscuously with their nearest kindred, in perfect silence, but in defiance of every law of consanguinuity or even of natural modesty.

For a long time these monsters kept their sacred books carefully guarded from profane eyes; but at length one of them fell into the hands of the Turks, who declared that it contained nothing beyond an incomprehensible jargon.

They are nevertheless forced to enter the army; and as they are allowed to carry arms, and as they affect the dress and deportment of Mussulmans, there is no means by which they can be distinguished from regular Turks.

They are quite ready nevertheless to accept the sacrament in a Christian church; when importuned by missionaries, they will not hesitate to receive the rite of baptism at their hands; and all, or most of them, get circumcised in order to propitiate the Ottomans.

These people, in every way so opposed in their religious practices to all principles of decency and morality,—are nevertheless more esteemed by the Turks, and hold a much higher social position than their Christian neighbours.

The reason of this seems to be simple enough.

The Kissilbashes have, without doubt, all the pride and insolence of superstition; and would, if they were strong enough, be quite as intolerant and as zealous promulgators of their beastly ceremonies and fantastic notions as either the Turks or the Christians; but, fortunately for their welfare and comfort,—they are too weak to cause that fear, which is in reality the main cause of Christian oppression in Turkey.

The Christians are called a people of the Book. The Mussulman religion certainly was founded on Christianity, and the two creeds contain many points of resemblance; yet a sect of people in Armenia called Yezidees; who, without any apology or prevarication,—worship the devil, are allowed the rights of citizenship denied to their Christian neighbours.

These Yezidees are idolaters and Pagans, nevertheless, of the most senseless and benighted nature that it is possible to conceive.

Captain Kinneir says that they are the descendants of those Arabs who fought with Yezid against Hossein at the battle of Kerbela;

and therefore the next author who mentioned them ridicules this account (which is, however, held by the Turks), and states that they are no more than a tribe of Parsees, whose fear or respect for the Evil Principle in Zoroaster's dual system of the government of the world,—has been mistaken by superficial observers for a species of devil-worship.

Another gentleman considers that they are an offshoot of the celebrated Gnostic sect, which, animated with an intense hatred of the Jews,—held that the Jehovah of the Old Testament was an evil spirit who had been cast into hell for his misdemeanors.

These interesting tribes are nevertheless of Koordish origin; and, like the Kissilbashes and Gipsies, who also reside in the neighbourhood,—very reticent as to the nature of their superstition.

Questioned concerning his doctrine, an old Yezidee asked his interlocutor: "Dost thou believe that God is righteous and all-merciful?"

On being answered in the affirmative, he continued: "Was not Satan the best beloved

of all the archangels, and will not God take pity on him who has been exiled so many thousands of years and restore to him the dominion over the world He created? Will not Satan then reward the poor Yezidees who alone have never spoken ill of him, and who have suffered so much for him?"

Beelzebub, whom they call King Peacock, is really the object of their devotion; for, although at Easter-time they sacrifice a single sheep to Jesus Christ, whom they look upon as a prophet or divine man,—they offer no less than thirty to the devil; because he (they say) cannot be so easily propitiated as the gentle saint crucified by the Jews. They suffer no one to speak ill of Satan in their presence; and the casual mention even, of his time-honoured and respected name, causes them uneasy feelings.

Their priesthood, who enjoy hereditary rank, are treated with a respect and veneration almost equal to that with which Hindoos treat their Brahmins. Any disrespect towards them is considered very blasphemous; and, like the ministers of other religions, who are sagacious

or lucky enough to get men to believe them the sole interpreters of the wishes of God,—they do not fail to turn such credulity to their own advantage, as well as to draw many pleasures and distractions from the stupidity of their flock.

It would hardly be suitable to call anyone who gives special services to the devil, a Bishop; although the traveller in Armenia comes across some curious specimens of those spiritual chiefs, in manners, bearing, and above all in social position, as well as in wealth, so comically dissimilar to the superb prelates of Western Europe.

An Armenian ecclesiastic does not consider it in any way derogatory to his rank to sweep the floor, to dig his field, to wait upon his guests like a menial servant, or to thump and cuff his clerical inferiors when he thinks they deserve a cudgelling.

People who observe all these things for the first time are greatly astonished at them, because men always wonder at anything which is quite new.

The Yezidee bishops then (for want of a

better name) travel about on visitation tours, in order to satisfy themselves that the faith and morals of the people, composing their diocese, are conformable to the will of Beelzebub. Like the wandering Brahmins of Malabar, these Yezidee prelates no sooner arrive in a village, where they intend passing a day or two, than they at once get married; and the young lady selected for this honour becomes, in consequence, so holy that she is looked upon as a kind of saint or demon.

If she happens to have a son, he becomes one of the priestly caste; but if her hopes about posterity are disappointed, she can, by permission of her husband, marry somebody else.

Although the ugly priest may never see or even think about his chaste spouse after the wedding day, he is nevertheless sufficiently alive to his own interests to get well paid for his pains; and as the girls chosen by these rogues are always well-formed and good-looking, the colleague or successor of the reverend or diabolical gentleman is compelled to make a

very heavy disbursement before obtaining his predecessor's divorce.

These people are nevertheless very hospitable and friendly to strangers. Subjects of Russia, Persia, and Turkey, they wander about in tents during the summer months, and live in Armenian villages, on good terms with the inhabitants, while the rigours of the winter season last.

A similarity of language identifies them with the Koords, from whom they are not to be distinguished in appearance. They are generally accomplished horsemen, and make excellent soldiers. The girls, who are often strikingly handsome, weave many of those exquisite carpets which are sold in London and Paris under the name of Persian.

Why then are these idolatrous and devil-loving Yezidees, as well as the licentious and deceitful Kissilbashes, received on an equality with Turks, while the Christians and Jews are subjected to laws equally severe and degrading?

Whatever may be said to the contrary, the Mussulmans have been very tolerant; and that, too (*and it is worthy of attention at the present*

time), towards *those idolaters* who, according to the law of Mahommed, *were never to be spared.*

In India, during his splendid reign, Acbar practised the most equal justice and perfect toleration towards all his subjects, whether Jews, Christians, Mussulmans, or Hindoos.

"They all," says the celebrated Abul Fazul, alluding to the latter—"They all believe in the unity of the Godhead; and although they hold images in high veneration, it is only because they represent celestial beings, and prevent the thoughts of those who worship them from wandering."*

It is interesting, on the other hand, to compare the conduct of the Portuguese as well as of the Dutch towards the same people. The former, in an excess of zeal, equally blind,

* Contrast these words of the Wuzeer of Acbar with those of Ali Pasha, who, called upon to give a judicial opinion concerning the rites of the Greeks and those of the Roman Catholics, coolly, and without a moment's hesitation, pronounced both "equally bad." Perhaps, had His Excellency been called upon to decide between a Parsee and a Hindoo, he would have been less biting in his judgment. Read Hammer, vol. xiii., pp. 184, 185, 187; and vol. xiv., p. 120, "History of the Ottoman Empire."

foolish, and disgusting, attempted to prohibit, altogether, in the territories which they had conquered,—the practices of the ancient Hindoo religion; and even to this day, some of the noblest monuments of time-honoured Indian architecture are disfigured with marks of Christian efforts to destroy them.

For trivial offences idolaters were crucified; in order, it was piously said, that the agonies of such a painful and ignominious death might teach the unbelieving culprit what our Lord and Saviour suffered for mankind.

Previous to the Reformation, when indulgences and penance were allowed to cover every crime of which turbulent and licentious outlaws, robbers, and pirates could be guilty,—the superstition of all classes was so truly amazing, and the natural lights of mankind, in Europe at least, had been so carefully extinguished by the subtlety and impertinence of the priests,—that the voice of humanity was altogether silenced in many, perhaps very honest men, when they were brought in contact with unbelievers.

To slay one was the shortest road to heaven; and as this belief was, for perfectly temporal, political, and worldly reasons, encouraged by the Popes and Christian powers of the West, it exercised a very marked influence on the position of the Greek and Roman Catholic Churches in the East, as well as on the mutual distrust and hatred ever existing between the Christian and the Turk.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ORIGIN OF THE EASTERN QUESTION.

Religions last longer than Empires.—Peter the Hermit.—His Preaching raises the Fury of Europe.—Absurdity and Ignorance of the Crusaders.—Policy of the Vatican.—Ferocity of the Crusaders.—Massacres of Jews.—Princes of Europe take Advantage of the general Enthusiasm.—Terror of the Greeks of Constantinople.—Designs of the Popes.—Constantinople, not Jerusalem, coveted.—Insolence of the Catholics.—Capture of Jerusalem.—Appalling Atrocities.—Barbarous Laws made against Heretics.—A Comparison.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ORIGIN OF THE EASTERN QUESTION.

"RELIGIONS," says Voltaire, "last longer than empires." The Greek Empire was destroyed, but its religion shows more vitality than that of the Kalifs, who, although themselves ruined and degraded, have left their faith to flourish under the Ottomans.

About twenty years after the taking of Jerusalem by the Turks, a monk called Coucoupétre or Cucupiêtre, but more generally known by the name of Peter the Hermit,—travelled into the Holy Land, for the purpose of visiting the Holy Sepulchre, as well as those other places sanctified in the history of our blessed Lord.

His journey was the cause of those furious

religious wars between the Christians and the Mussulmans, which have not yet ceased.

It is thus that the most trivial circumstances affect the destiny of mankind as well as that of individuals; for all the events which happen in the world can generally be traced to some equally contemptible source.

Peter the Hermit, with the natural ardour of a well-meaning and honest fanatic,—hated the Mussulmans because their mode of thought, or rather of education, was opposed to his own.

He was also animated with intense fury at the numerous insulting and petty vexations to which travellers from Christendom to the Holy Shrines were subjected.

To extract money from pilgrims was a fruitful source of revenue to the Mahommedan rulers of Palestine.

The Christians set an enormous value on any relics or trinkets brought back to Europe from that distant and interesting land; and treated with the highest consideration whoever had been adventurous enough to undertake such a perilous and arduous journey.

Very large sums were freely expended by them for the gratification of whims, which, however senseless they may be considered by the coolness or indifference of modern times,—were very far from being thought so by the ignorance and superstition of those barbarous ages.

Common-sense and reason ought to have seen that Peter was no more than a little fanatic or madman; but the arts of a diplomatist or a bigot can easily cajole the ignorant, —till the most rash, unjust, or wildest schemes appear enterprises so sensible, righteous, and even necessary, that every objection to them becomes silent.

Peter the Hermit had been plundered, legally or illegally, by the masters of the Holy Land; and he had seen the religion of Jesus Christ treated as a foolish and contemptible superstition. In several secret interviews with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, he expatiated with such violence on his own injuries, as well as on those of the native Christians of Palestine, that his mind became filled with one single idea. "I will

rouse," said he, "the martial nations of Europe on your behalf."

And he roused them.

As a matter of course, seasonable revelations were not wanting in support of such an extraordinary enterprise; and it was firmly believed that our Lord Himself, having appeared to the Hermit, addressed him in the following words: "I will be with you. It is time that My servants should be succoured."

It is only necessary to read the Epistles of Pope Gregory the Seventh, in order to understand how completely the policy of the Vatican was fanned into a flame by the preaching of Peter.

To discourse on the well-known disputes between the Eastern and Western Churches, is altogether too large a subject for these pages. The ambition of the Roman Court aspired not only to dominion over the Christians of the West—a dominion which it gained by no very creditable means—but it longed also to domineer over the Christians of the East. It extended further. Gregory had actually long

secretly cherished the notion of turning the nations of Europe against those of Asia; of extirpating the religion of Mahommed in those countries of Asia Minor, the site of the seven churches, the birthplace of Christianity; and of establishing an universal and spiritual—perhaps temporal—monarchy throughout the whole of those fertile and delicious lands in which the teaching of our Redeemer was preached in the first ages by His own immediate successors.

These territories had first become a prey to heresy and schism; but they were afterwards conquered by the infidels.

It was the darling object of the Popes to change both one and the other to Catholicism; but to effect this it was necessary to employ force, which is a weapon far more suitable to the hands of the ambitious than either argument or persuasion.

"If I were Alexander," said Parmenio, in stating his objections to the daring of that extraordinary man, "I should not."—"And I should not," answered Alexander, "were I Parmenio."

This enterprise required the courage of a Mahommed. There were great obstacles to such an enormous undertaking; and the successors of Gregory were aware that all the migrations of races and tribes have been from the East towards the West.

Even to this day the stream goes on in the same direction. The inhabitants of the Old World have peopled the continent of America; and, after the manner of their forefathers, extirpated or driven back the aborigines who opposed their progress. Europeans, however, notwithstanding the ephemeral settlements of the Crusaders,—have never succeeded in establishing themselves for any length of time in the East.

The English in India, and the Russians moving surely towards them,—appear likely to contradict the experience of thousands of years, of which a hundred are only as a fleeting moment in the succession of those events which govern the destinies of the great world, and develop the slow, stately, and incomprehensible work of all-ruling Providence.

In turning the West upon the East, Peter the Hermit changed the direction of the march of mankind; and that event has very palpably influenced the history of the whole universe.

It was the policy of the Popes to command the Greek Church as well as the Latin; and, consequently, to bring the whole Christian world under their sway.

For this reason, Pope Urban received Peter, on his return from Palestine, as an inspired man or prophet. Notwithstanding the diminutive stature and extraordinary costume (modelled apparently upon that of John the Baptist) of the little fanatic,—his violent preaching and declamation in both Italy and France, as well as the donkey on which he rode about, were looked upon by the ignorant barbarians who hearkened to his words—the first as inspired, the latter as holy as the animal on which our Redeemer entered Jerusalem.

He preached with equal perseverance in the fields, on the roads, and in the churches. Vast multitudes applauded his vehemence and shared

his anger; but when in pathetic tones he described the sufferings of the pilgrims, and the condition of the poor Christians of Egypt, Syria, and Palestine,—he worked his martial congregations into such a state of rage and fury, that they longed only for revenge.

At seasonable intervals the sermons of Peter were interrupted by sobs and groans; and by way of incontrovertible proof that he was a faithful interpreter of the wishes of God Himself,—he appealed to Jesus Christ and His mother, with whom he professed to have had several interviews and conversations. He was probably the most successful orator that the world has ever seen.

He inspired his audience with his own furious passions; and, for no other reason than because he said so,—every story he told was believed.

It was thought that God wished the undertaking of this romantic enterprise. "God wills it, God wills it!" cried the people. "It is indeed the will of God," answered the Pope.

The departure of the Crusaders was fixed for the festival of the Assumption; everybody's sins were forgiven; and, marking their breasts with a bloody cross, the greater part of them set out to pillage.

The nations of antiquity never migrated from one country to another, on account of religious motives; and, except when waged by Christians or Turks (if we except perhaps the campaigns of Joshua), there had never been such a thing as a Holy War.

It appears, however, that a Holy War ought at least to be undertaken in a just cause; but as excellent reasons, drawn from texts of Scripture, visions, or prophecies, did not fail to supply many specious arguments in favour of the aggression,—the Crusaders were quite persuaded of the merit and lawfulness of their undertaking.

According to their notions of property, the whole of Asia Minor belonged to them; and even to this day it is as much a Christian as a Mahommedan territory.

The Christian temples of Antioch, Alexan-

dria, and Jerusalem were framed with the cedars of Lebanon; their roofs were gilt, their walls and floors decorated with brilliant and costly marble; their superb altars blazed in a mass of gold, silk, and precious stones.

But the loss of Ephesus, which in the fourteenth century fell into the hands of the Turks,—fulfilled the prophecy of Revelations, and extinguished the first candlestick.

The seven churches of Asia are destroyed; the site of the church of Mary is unknown; and, although the Mosques of Thyatira and Pergamus re-echo as Mahommedan fanes the voice of the Muezzin,—the descendants of the people who built these stately edifices still look forward to a deliverance from the yoke of their unbelieving masters.

Such was the state of Asia Minor at the time of the Crusades; and such, with very little difference, is the condition of the same countries at the present time. The Christians of Asiatic as well as those of European Turkey believe that the Turks are interlopers who ought to be driven out.

As the Pope promised a remission of sins to whoever should follow Peter the Hermit into the Holy Land, and as the illiterate and ignorant people were credulous enough to believe that he really had the power of doing so,—large crowds of assassins, outlaws, highway robbers, thieves and prostitutes started off on their way to Jerusalem.

Sixty thousand souls, consisting of some of the vilest people of both sexes,—followed the Hermit towards Palestine.

So great was the enthusiasm, that gentlemen, rich enough to do so, proceeded at their own expense; and poorer men, though of equal rank,—preferred serving them as squires to remaining quietly at home. They were attended by a large force of infantry; but several private horsemen, who had equipped themselves at their own expense, appeared to have attached themselves to the standard of whoever they chose.

There were monks, women, scholars, merchants, traders, as well as beggars and malefactors, among this vast multitude.

So ludicrous was their ignorance of geography and distance, that they thought they had arrived within sight of Jerusalem as soon as they saw a large town situated beyond the frontiers of their own little countries.

In total ignorance of the length of the roads, of the breadth of the streams, or of the height of the mountains which they had to cross,—they set out cheerfully, and as though their undertaking was neither more difficult nor more arduous than one of those ordinary religious excursions or pilgrimages of which Chaucer has left us some account. They also believed that they would be treated with great hospitality by the inhabitants of all the countries through whose territories they might pass.

Nothing in the world can be more laughable than the conduct of this horde of vagabonds marching under the superintendence of Peter, who, in order to impose upon such an ignorant multitude,—constantly dressed himself like John the Baptist, and followed the footsteps of a goose and a goat which he caused to be driven in front of him. These, he said, were filled

with the Holy Ghost, and were the real leaders of the expedition.

Notwithstanding the sacred enterprise of the soldiers of this pleasant Hermit, who was following his inspired goose and his equally inspired goat towards the Holy Sepulchre,—the reprobates, whose sins had been forgiven, conducted themselves as they had always done in their own countries. They plundered and murdered with equal perseverance. They struck terror far and wide; and the frightened villagers, abandoning their homes, fled before them.

Their first exploit was to slaughter all the Jews on whom they could lay hands. At Verdun, at Spires, at Treves, at Metz, and at Worms, prosperous colonies of that quiet and inoffensive people, whose ancestors had murdered the Son of God, enjoyed under the protection of the Emperor the free exercise of their religion. Never since the time of Hadrian had there been such a cruel and indiscriminate massacre of Hebrews. Believing that they were exercising the vengeance of God, they cut the

throats of so many Israelites that numbers of those unfortunate men, imitating the conduct of their forefathers at the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey,—first killed their wives and children, and then themselves, rather than fall into the hands of such barbarous and furious enemies.

Notwithstanding the anxiety of the Crusaders to avenge the injuries of Christ, they did not forget to enrich themselves with the booty of the slaughtered Jews. The quarters of the town in which they lived were handed over to indiscriminate pillage; but, with the courage of despair they generally baulked this unseemly avarice, and barricading their houses, which they defended to the death,—flung their treasures into the river or into the fire.

The next remarkable exploit of these miscreants (a name invented by themselves for those who had not received a similar religious education to their own, but since adopted to designate every kind of impossible scoundrel) was to lay siege to a town in Hungary called Malavilla. Its offence was that the inhabitants

had very prudently, or rather, as it turned out, very imprudently,—refused to entertain our pious and doughty soldiers, who had not advanced many miles beyond the frontiers of their own country—ere they obtained for themselves a reputation for inhumanity, cruelty, and excess, in every way equal to that of the followers of Genghis Khan, or of Timour the Tartar himself in later times.

The vast numbers of the Crusaders enabled them to take it by storm; and, if it is true that the majority of these Christian warriors were induced to march towards Palestine in hopes of plunder as well as from pious motives,—we cannot wonder at the horrible carnage which resulted from their easy capture of the place.

The inhabitants were slaughtered without mercy; and the pilgrims, having tasted blood, looked forward with great glee to the sanguinary scenes that they hoped to enact on the populations of those countries which had been sanctified by the birth, the life, and the death of our blessed Lord.

Between the frontiers of Austria and those of the Greek Empire of Constantinople, a distance of upwards of six hundred English miles intervened. The intermediate countries of Hungary and Bulgaria appear at this time to have accepted some of the doctrines of Christianity. Their inhabitants were warlike and ferocious savages, who resented, with the courage and animosity of freemen—the outrages, violences, cruelties, and extortions to which the pilgrims attempted to subject them.

The whole country rose against the robbers, on whom they retaliated with such diligence, that when Peter arrived at Constantinople he was accompanied by his goat and his goose, but by not more than forty thousand Crusaders, presenting the appearance of miserable beggars or wayfarers starving to death.

One Godescald, a German priest, who tried to imitate the doings of Peter, was even more unfortunate than his model; for the first appearance of the bloody cross worn by his disciples, and known to have created such

terrible calamities and disorders in Hungary,—was the signal for a general rising, resulting in the extermination of these ruthless wanderers.

The Emperor of the East, Alexius Comnenus, a gentle and humane prince, was touched by the plight of these vagabonds with their goose, and their goat, and their ridiculous leader.

He had compassion on them; and, after protecting the remnant in their march from the Thracian mountains,—entertained them hospitably at Constantinople.

Here they appear to have been reinforced by some Italians and Germans, and, quite forgetful of the benefits which they had received at the hands of the Emperor,—commenced to pillage the town.

Nothing was safe from their depredations. They laid waste gardens; they plundered palaces, and, notwithstanding the pretended holiness of their mission,—did not hesitate to rifle the splendid churches with which the Grecian capital was at that time so copiously ornamented.

Alexius, terrified at these disorders, but unwilling, perhaps from political motives, to inflict on them the summary punishment they deserved,—contented himself with getting rid of such troublesome and disreputable guests. He coaxed Peter and his men and women and children to cross the Bosphorus in boats, which he had collected in great numbers for their transportation into Asia, where he assigned them a comfortable station, and where he recommended them to await the reinforcements expected from Europe.

With the impetuosity of folly and ignorance, and, uninstructed by the misfortunes which they had suffered in their toilsome journey across the continent of Europe,—they were even rash enough to march against Soliman, the Turkish Sultan of Nicomedia.

The result of a contest between the warlike and disciplined Mussulmans and a fanatical mob, without either leaders or cohesion,—might very easily have been foreseen. They were completely overwhelmed; and nothing, but bones and skulls—remained of the first Crusade.

Before a single town was rescued from the Turks, three hundred thousand followers of the Hermit had miserably perished. Peter himself, overcome with shame, sorrow, and vexation, returned to Constantinople, where he was looked upon as a dangerous lunatic.

In the meantime, the Princes of Europe, less religious perhaps, but just as enthusiastic as the crowd of malefactors who had followed the goat and the goose into Asia Minor,—prepared to carry out the schemes of Pope Gregory according to those general and prudent laws prescribed by the art of war.

Godfrey of Bouillon, a wise and accomplished nobleman, whose courage was tempered by experience,—became the ruling spirit of this enterprise. He led a well-equipped army of eighty thousand men—very dissimilar to the contemptible followers of Peter—from Europe into Asia.

The brother of the French King also crossed the Alps at the head of several Barons who chose to attend his standard into Palestine; and Robert, the eldest son of William the Con-

queror, started from Normandy for the same destination.

Many of these noble Crusaders sold, for vile prices, all the lands of which they were possessed at home. For they had listened with open mouths to exaggerated descriptions of the East, where they hoped to make a permanent settlement, and to become so exceedingly rich that the wealth or territories inherited by them from their ancestors were considered altogether despicable and quite unworthy of any further care.

The Church, by the way, did not fail to take advantage of these notions; and some of the abbeys and religious orders, both in England and on the Continent, became exceedingly rich, in consequence of the fine pastures which they added to their domains at prices totally absurd and inadequate.

The most cunning and diplomatical individual among the Crusaders was, without doubt, Bohemund, the scion of a worthy Norman family which had obtained by their courage a secure footing in the Island of Sicily. He

took advantage of this enthusiastic epidemic for the purpose of his own aggrandisement, and in order to seize whatever Christian or Mussulman provinces he might be able to get hold of.

He affected as much religious ardour as Peter the Hermit himself; and, succeeded so well in inflaming the passions of the numerous recruits anxious to march under the standard of such a notorious chief,—that besides infantry he commanded ten thousand well-armed and courageous horsemen.

The forces of Christendom proceeded towards Constantinople by different routes. The march of Godfrey through Hungary contrasts in a very favourable light with that of his rascally and plebeian predecessors in the wake of their goat and their goose. He appears to have passed through that country, crossed the Save, and moved over Bulgaria and Thrace without enacting any excesses. He arrived at Constantinople after a peaceful, easy, and well-conducted march.

The difficulty of feeding the vast armies

which were at this time directing their course towards the Holy Land caused them to move by different routes.

The chiefs were attended by large retinues of servants and pages; and, in order to amuse themselves in the dreary countries through which their road lay—brought hounds and hawks for the beguilement of their leisure hours.

Nine months afterwards, four-and-twenty gentlemen, dressed in golden armour, announced the arrival of Hugh, brother to the King of France, and commander of the Catholics.

Alexius asked the Pope for succour, and he got it; but it was a kind of assistance which, according to the testimony of his celebrated daughter Ann,—nearly frightened him out of his senses. He considered that the whole of the populations of Europe were rushing upon Asia and threatening its inhabitants with destruction. He had sown the wind, but he was reaping the whirlwind.

Here, then, is really the commencement of

those celebrated political jealousies and dissensions which are known to modern times by the name of the Eastern Question. The Greeks regarded the Catholics as barbarians; and, what was worse still, as damnable heretics, hardly better, from a religious point of view, than the very Turks themselves.

This undying and mortal hatred, to the present moment, separates the Catholic and so-called orthodox Christians of Turkey. Both one and the other would far prefer the government of the Sultan to that of a prince belonging to either the Latin or the Greek churches.

The designs of the Popes soon became apparent in the conduct of the Crusaders; and Alexius was certainly not mistaken when he began to suspect that Constantinople, *rather than Jerusalem*,—was the town they coveted.

He had foolishly hoped that the princes of Europe meant to recover for him the provinces of his empire conquered by the Turks; but those commanders were very far from having such a generous and benevolent object in view.

It was their intention to keep all those

countries for themselves; and, in the name and under the authority of their master, the Pope, —to establish such an intolerant government as would not fail to stamp out the heresies of the Eastern Church.

The arrogance and insolence with which these religious warriors behaved themselves at Constantinople, and in their intercourse with the Greeks, whom they regarded as contemptible savages and heretics,—may be judged from an incident reported by Princess Ann, daughter of the Emperor Alexius.

At a great public ceremony, in which Alexius, clothed in his purple and holding a sceptre in his hand, appeared surrounded by all the pomp and state of his high station, for the purpose of receiving the homage and respect of the chiefs of the first crusade,—a certain French gentleman coolly sat down on the throne by the side of the Emperor; and called out in tones of extreme insolence and vulgarity, "This is a queer kind of a bumpkin, this Greek, who sits down before people of our condition."

It was in vain that the brother of Godfrey

endeavoured to quiet his impertinence and force him from the position which he had taken up.

Alexius, humiliated and astonished, inquired his name. "I am," said he, "of the most noble family. I go every day to a church where all the brave nobles who want to fight a duel assemble together and pray to Jesus Christ and the Holy Virgin to be favourable to them. None of them ever dared to fight me, though."

Contemporary historians—or at least the greater part of them — mention Alexius in terms of unmeasured abuse; but the reason of this hatred is easily divined—Alexius was a heretic.

It is not difficult to understand that the Greeks were terrified at this irruption of strange people differing from them in religion and ignorant of their language. There were continual squabbles, brawls, or street fights between the soldiers of Godfrey and the natives; and the former had actually the assurance to make a serious and formal attack on the suburbs of Constantinople.

The Legate of the Pope warmly supported these proceedings; and indeed there is nothing new in warriors professing to succour oppressed Christians, acting in a manner altogether contrary to such pious pretensions.

At length, by a great deal of tact, Alexius got rid of his barbarous tyrants, who on being reviewed in the neighbourhood of Nice, in Bythynia,—are said to have consisted of one hundred thousand horsemen, wearing coats of mail and carrying long lances; besides six hundred thousand footmen armed with pikes and good bows.

The Turks were unable to stand against the iron-clad men and animals who thundered down in vast bodies on their light-armed squadrons. Nice was taken, and the armies of the Sultan Soliman were twice defeated.

Bohemund, who had already made war upon the Greeks, and who throughout the whole of these proceedings seems to have been keenly possessed of what men nowadays call "an eye to business,"—got possession of Antioch and its neighbourhood. Baldwin also formed a fat

little state in Mesopotamia. The former chief, however, displayed his wisdom and address in choosing a strategical position at the head of the Gulf of Alexandretta, from which he not only possessed a free and easy sea communication with Italy, but from which he also enjoyed the inestimable advantage of threatening the whole of Asia Minor.

From sieges and battles, and skirmishes without number—after which the effeminate and degenerate Greeks were not ashamed to confess that among the crowd of combatants the Turks and Europeans alone deserved the respectable name of soldiers—the Crusaders pushed on to the attack of Jerusalem, a city remarkable in the history of the world for the assaults which it has so often sustained.

It is surrounded by crags and rocks, and stony and ugly mountains. So uninviting is the neighbourhood that there is no water. The parched traveller cannot obtain the refreshment or even the sight of trees. The circumjacent spaces are melancholy and hideous. Continually tormented with burning

thirst, great numbers of Crusaders perished among the wilds of these odious and fatiguing deserts.

Godfrey of Bouillon erected his standard on the slopes of Mount Calvary, while Raymond pitched his tents at the foot of Mount Sion; neither of these two little hills being at that time, as they are now, included within the walls or fortifications of the city.

After a siege of five weeks, Jerusalem was taken by assault, and never was a success disgraced by a more horrible and disgusting slaughter. Every single Turk in the town was massacred without mercy; and, in order that Jesus Christ might be still more pleased at the work of His servants,—these horrors were continued for three whole days.

Peter the Hermit, no longer a general, but a simple priest, applauded and encouraged these atrocities. It was here that the Jews had crucified the Son of God; and it was here that the men who combated in His name roasted, by way of retaliation,—all the miserable Hebrews on whom they could lay hands. Seventy

thousand Mussulmans are said to have been devoured by the sword.

The tolerant Turks, who, since the taking of the city by Amrou and the Arabs, had always respected the religious worship of the Christians, and allowed them, as well as the Jews, to live peaceably on almost an equality with true believers, — were turned upon by the people to whom they had always shown so much kindness, consideration, and benevolence.

It was known to the Christian inhabitants that some woe-begone and panic-stricken Mussulman mothers had hidden themselves with their starving children in deserted caves. Into the caves the Christians of Jerusalem, forgetful of the benefits which they had received, forgetful of the beautiful moral laws of our blessed Lord,—conducted their blood-stained co-religionists ; and even the throats of these innocent creatures were cut with a fury and useless rage only equalled in the same places by the executioners of Herod.

In reading this part of the history of the

Crusades, the most indifferent reader must shudder with disgust; but it is with difficulty that he can remain serious when he learns that all these inhuman butchers, who had been guilty of every atrocity which it is possible for passion, fanaticism, and lust to perform,—rushed bareheaded to the Holy Sepulchre; and, bursting into tears, went through the most absurd and ridiculous antics round the stone which covered the Saviour of mankind.

There can be little doubt that to this day the ignorant are capable of the same excesses; because only a few men are conducted by their reason, while the great majority follow alone the fleeting and ephemeral influences of passion and imagination.

When the Crusaders proceeded to the election of a king for the government of the countries which had been conquered by their arms,—the Catholic priests, who had followed the army in great numbers—set up an unseemly clamour, and declared that, according to the laws of the Church, it was absolutely necessary to make a bishop before nominating a sove-

reign; otherwise, they said, no election could be valid.

Godfrey of Bouillon, although a hero in the field, was, as a necessary consequence of the vile superstition of the age in which he lived,—a coward in the presence of an ecclesiastic, armed with the powers of excommunication; and the founder of the kingdom of Jerusalem contented himself with the humble title of Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre.

The Archbishop of Pisa, an able diplomatist who had been carefully trained in the secret policy of the Court of Rome, arrived in the Holy Land a few months after the taking of Jerusalem, and was duly installed as the Patriarch or Bishop of Palestine by the unanimous voice of the Catholic clergy.

In the name of the Pope, he proclaimed himself the spiritual and temporal head of the Church. He and his priests usurped the wealth and property, as well as the jurisdiction of the lawful Patriarch; and justified such cynical and barefaced spoliation with the splendid reason that that deposed and plundered dignitary was

a heretic. Even as the Bulgarians and Servians did not like their Russian protectors when they became better acquainted with them; so the Greeks and Syrians,—maltreated, persecuted, and regarded as obstinate slaves worthy of the severest punishments,—longed with all their hearts and souls for the re-establishment of that tolerant Mussulman government which permitted them the free exercise of their religious ceremonies, without hindrance or interference.

The laws made by the Catholic clergy of Europe weighed heavily on the Greek and Syrian Christians of Palestine; and a miserable peasant of the country, considered rather as a thing than as a person, was rated by the Assize of Jerusalem as only equal in value to a trained hawk.

The larger part of the globe has been subjected to the invasions of foreign tribes, which, coming from vast distances, effected permanent settlements in new countries. The Turks, the Franks, the Visigoths, and the Goths, besides numerous other hordes, became rooted to the

soil; and even now their descendants remain fixed in the same places.

The Crusaders of Europe who sallied into the East, seeking for new countries, greatly exceeded in numbers any of those nomadic nations whose manœuvres they attempted to imitate; but it appears to be a law of Providence that the inhabitants of the West can never effect a permanent settlement in the lands from which their ancestors originally came.

In the course of a few years, and in conformity with this law, not a trace remained of the brave fanatics who had inundated Asia Minor in such incredible numbers that the Princess Ann compares them to the sands of the sea.

CHAPTER VIII.

NATIONAL RIVALRIES.

Conflicting Interests of European Powers in the East.—The Crusaders mutually Hostile to each other.—Hated by the Greeks.—The French show their Hand, and plan the Capture of Constantinople.—Saladin the Koord.—Captures Jerusalem.—His tolerant Government.—Alliance of the Greeks and Turks.—Reinforcements from Europe.—The Crusaders, throwing aside their Mask, assail Constantinople.—Its unrivalled Position.—Its Capture.—Greek Churches desecrated.—Alliance between the Christians and the Sultan of Damascus.—The Turks easily held these Countries.—Reason of this.—Rivalries among the Latin Masters of Constantinople.—Genoese and Venetians.—Settlement of the Question by Mahommed the Second.—Men in the East divided by Religious Hatred.—French Interests.—The Jesuits.—Queen Elizabeth and the Turks.—Protectorate of Christians nothing New.—Misgovernment in Asia Minor suitable to Russian Schemes.

CHAPTER VIII.

NATIONAL RIVALRIES.

The impossibility of a complete settlement of the Eastern Question is caused by the discord as well as by the conflicting interests of the European Powers; and the jealousies of the Crusaders, was the reason of their speedy ruin.

Alexius is accused of treason by his contemporary Western Protectors, because he very sensibly took advantage of their successes in order to provide his own country with a scientific frontier. The invading Turks were driven back, and several large cities, as well as islands in the Archipelago, restored to the Empire.

Although the Princes of the Crusade had sworn to pay homage to Alexius, not one of them kept his promise. In a very short time Asia Minor was covered with a vast number of insignificant and independent states, some of which were Christian and some Mussulman; but they all waged war quite freely on their own account. A Christian castle often stood in the neighbourhood of a Turkish stronghold, and the lands of people mutually hostile were mixed together.

The orders of Templars and Hospitallers, from societies of simple monks, obtained vast power and wealth; but, so great was their jealousy and hatred, that they fought as much against each other as against the Turks.

The State of Edessa was retaken by the Mussulmans; the Greek Emperors took possession of Antioch, which was certainly theirs by right; but; the territories of the Latins in Asia fell into such a state of feebleness, disorganisation, and decay, that the enervated successors of the first Crusaders appealed in piteous tones to their European countrymen for

that relief and assistance, without which the ephemeral empire that they had built up must have succumbed more suddenly than it arose.

St. Bernard, pretending that he was a prophet, and imitating Peter the Hermit, except in his assumption of the conduct of a general,—preached a fresh crusade. His call was responded to by the greatest European Kings and Princes; and this fresh emigration consisted of at least three hundred thousand souls.

We cannot wonder that the Greeks, who had by this time gained a bitter experience of their troublesome guests,—endeavoured by every means in their power to destroy, or at least to injure, this supplementary irruption. The governors of the provinces through which they passed, notwithstanding their plausible assurances of friendship and fidelity,—had secret orders to throw every impediment in the way of the heretics of Europe. The people hated and feared them with equal violence, and whenever they could do so with impunity, fell

upon the stragglers and massacred them without mercy.

The mutual jealousies of Conrad and Louis, of the Germans and the French, retarded the operations of the immense force which had come to the relief of Asia.

The Emperor of Germany, without waiting for any support, marched boldly into the latter country, where the Turks,—who were in a close though secret alliance with the Greeks, previously warned of his intention,—caught him in an ambuscade and slaughtered his heavy Teutonic cavalry without mercy.

The French had no sooner arrived in Thrace than, at the instigation of the bishops, it was proposed to take Constantinople; and the uncertainty of success, much more than the shame of such a treacherous undertaking, alone prevented the attempt.

Conrad returned to Germany, and Louis to France, with scarcely any followers. The prophet St. Bernard, accused of imposture, held stoutly to his claim of being an inspired man; and, comparing himself to Moses, declared that

he himself, like the legislator of the Hebrews, saw one generation perish in the deserts, on their way to the Holy Land.

While the Turks and the Christians were fighting among themselves in Asia Minor, a terrible earthquake knocked down nearly all the towns. According to the Turks, it was a punishment on the Christians; and according to the Christians, it was a clear evidence of the wrath of God against the Turks.

At this time the celebrated Aladeen, or Saladin, as his name is usually pronounced in Europe, became known to fame. He was a Koord by birth, and conquered, in a very short time, Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Persia, and Mesopotamia.

Marching against the little kingdom of Jerusalem, it was in vain that Guy Lusignan assembled all the descendants of the Crusaders in Galilee. Saladin took the king prisoner, and easily routed his followers; but no sooner had the Holy City fallen into the hands of that tolerant and even chivalrous Mussulman, than he displayed a wisdom and generosity in every

way worthy of the most civilised commander of modern times.

To the astonishment of the sanguinary Christians, nobody was killed; there were no persecutions on account of religion; a mosque, changed into a church, was refitted as a Mahommedan temple; and the following words were engraved upon its door: "The Sultan Aladeen, servant of God, placed this inscription, after God had taken Jerusalem by his hands."

Notwithstanding the sincere attachment of Saladin to the religion of Mahommed, he rejoiced the hearts of the Greek Christians of the Holy City by giving them a freedom and liberty of religious worship which they had never enjoyed under the rule of the Catholics. The church of the Holy Sepulchre was restored to them; and they were happier under the government of infidels than under that of the heretics of Europe.

The liveliest excitement was caused in Europe by the victories of Saladin; and so great was the ardour in favour of a fresh crusade, that

rival Kings and Princes, suspending their differences, compelled all their subjects, who did not volunteer for the war, to pay a tenth part of their yearly income as a fine.

The Emperor of Constantinople, equally frightened at and tired of these reiterated expeditions so menacing to the existence of his dynasty and the liberties of his subjects,—entered into an open alliance with Saladin.

The piety of Europe was shocked at this sacrilege, but it was, nevertheless, no more than a prudent act of self-preservation, which must ever be the first object of a sagacious statesman.

By land as well as by sea, fresh multitudes of Crusaders precipitated themselves into Asia Minor. Three hundred thousand men crowded round the banners of Philip and Richard; but notwithstanding their numbers, they only succeeded in obtaining possession of St. Jean d'Acre and Joppa.

The ignorant soldiers, who, for a few halfpence a day, have always been quite ready to get themselves killed by thousands in a quarrel

about which they know nothing, bear an exact resemblance to the great body of the Crusaders. With a view to bettering their condition, or from that theological rancour so easily stirred up in the minds of the foolish, these fanatics believed that they were combating for the deliverance of the sepulchre of Jesus Christ out of the hands of the infidels.

Diplomacy, while working on this enthusiasm, had a very different object in view; and at length, when it was considered that the attempt had a reasonable chance of being crowned with success,—instead of Jerusalem,—*Constantinople was assailed.*

Constantinople, on account of its unrivalled commercial and strategical position—is the goal for which nations have struggled since the remotest times.

It is meant by nature to be the capital of the world; for its commodious and splendid harbour is not only capable of sheltering the navies of the entire universe on its placid bosom; but both the outlets are so extremely narrow that, while closed against ships of war, the masters of these

passages can open them to the commerce of the whole earth.

The riches of the East, of the West, of the North, and of the South; the produce of Germany, Asia Minor, Russia, and of the Black Sea, flow naturally and by easy water communication into the Golden Horn; where the wealth of Egypt, of the maritime nations of the Mediterranean, and of northern Europe, as well as of America, and the islands in the uttermost parts of the sea, may be collected on a site which of all others deserves the name of the centre of commerce.

The statesman, the soldier, and the merchant are all of one accord concerning the transcendent advantages of Constantinople; yet, so incomparable is its remarkable position—that, although easily reached by friends, it is guarded by nature against the approach of foes.

If the Popes could have obtained even the spiritual possession of Constantinople, they thought that they might rule over the whole of orthodox or heterodox Christendom.

It is very probable that there never was a

war in the world for which some very excellent and good reason was not given. A pretender to the throne of the Greek Empire of Constantinople abandoned the so-called orthodox Church and became a Roman Catholic. He was consequently supported by the Pope, and formed an alliance with the Venetians (who, by the way, had all been excommunicated by Innocent the Third), with Baldwin of Flanders, and with Boniface of Montserrat.

On their arrival in Constantinople, these pious adventurers were outraged by the appearance of a Turkish mosque, where the fear, the policy, or what is much less likely, the tolerance of the Greeks allowed the free exercise of the Mussulman religion.

With that unreasoning fury by which all their operations were distinguished, they slew the disbelievers, and burned down not only the mosque and a synagogue, but several orthodox churches. The inhabitants, whether Christians, Jews, or Mahommedans, were massacred without mercy; palaces as well as superb public buildings were destroyed and plundered;

and the piety of these marauders was rewarded with the temporal gain of a large booty.

At length, a regular attack was made on the town. The churches of the Greeks were desecrated; and chalices used as drinking-cups by a horde of drunken miscreants.

In the midst of these odious and blasphemous excesses, it is interesting to remark the unchangeable character of the French, who—in the same manner as their descendants placed a naked woman on the high altar of the Madeleine in Paris during the Revolution, and proclaimed her worship the only sensible religion—seated a prostitute in the chair of the high-priest, and caused her to dance and sing in the cathedral as a mock imitation of the orthodox ceremonies.

The Turks had taken most of Asia Minor from the Greeks; and their friends, the French and Venetians, seized the rest of it for themselves.

Baldwin, Count of Flanders, who had taken an oath to go to the Holy Land, stopped on the road, and became Emperor of Constantinople.

At about this time, Jerusalem really ceased to exist; for a horde of idolaters from Central Asia, who had fled before the swarms of Tartars under Genghis Khan, burst upon the Holy City, and made very short work there of both the Jews and Mussulmans, as well as of the Christians, without troubling themselves in the least whether they were orthodox or not.

It was in vain that the Christians united with the Sultan of Damascus against these new brigands; or that Europe still furnished a contingent of volunteers. In a short time, nothing beyond a few maritime towns remained to the Crusaders. The last Crusade—for a repetition of almost the same story becomes tiresome—undertaken and commanded by King Louis the Ninth, ended in the overthrow and capture of that monarch.

With far less troops, and against enemies in every way more redoubtable, Alexander the Great easily obtained and held possession of these very countries so unsuccessfully invaded by the Crusaders; while in after years the

Turks extended their sway over them with the greatest ease.

The reason of this remarkable difference is not far to seek. The Crusaders were totally without that regular discipline which obeys a single and supreme chief; and the discord and jealousies of modern Europe are an exact image of the eternally conflicting interests altogether destructive of united action.

The unquenchable rivalries of the new masters of Constantinople caused their recently-founded empire to be more weak and contemptible than if it had been under the government of even the degenerate Greeks.

The Venetians, fortifying themselves in strong places, held command of the sea, and thought only of that commerce which they, of all people in the world, knew so well how to manipulate to their own exclusive advantage.

The Catholic clergy of Venice took possession of St. Sophia, and in that cathedral Baldwin was invested with the purple buskins of the Emperor of the East. French colonists were invited to swell the population of the town,

and the Pope was asked to lend his assistance to the holy task of entirely extinguishing the heresy of the Greek Church.

Nothing could be more pleasing to Innocent than this work of oppression, which he declared both a necessary and sacred duty.

An empire divided against itself cannot stand, and the native Greeks hated, and still hate, the Catholics even more than they hate their Turkish masters at the present hour.

The Republics of Venice and Genoa had ever disputed the command of the Black and Mediterranean Seas; and no sooner was the rightful owner of Constantinople strong enough to attempt the recovery of his dominions from the usurpers who had taken them from him,—than the Genoese, in order to injure and humiliate their Italian rivals, espoused the cause of the Palæologi with all the ardour and enthusiasm of selfishness and spite.

Constantinople was feebly attacked; but being still more feebly defended, it was irrecoverably lost to its Latin conquerors.

The few Latin colonies settled on the mari-

time coasts of Syria were either exterminated or became slaves. Tyre, Sidon, and Acre were taken by the Sultan of Egypt; and towards the end of the thirteenth century there was no trace of all these wonderful religious emigrations.

Thus ended the Crusades. Many Christians of Syria are a mixture of the descendants of Europeans; and, as the Catholic religion has always been tolerated under the government of the Turks,—large numbers of them regard the Pope as their spiritual chief, and hate the heretical Greeks as much as ever.

The colonies established by the domineering and arrogant Genoese, protected the numerous Roman Catholic churches against the fanaticism of the Greeks. These churches had grown up under the government of the Crusaders in different parts of Asia Minor, as well as in Constantinople itself; and the Pope, by means of missionaries, as well as by means of natives educated in Italy and sent back to the East as regularly ordained priests,—ever encouraged that portion of the population to look to

Rome for sympathy, encouragement and support.

Thus a separate nation was formed; for Greeks and Armenians, belonging to the Church of Rome, renounce their nationality, and describe themselves, not as either Greeks or Armenians, but as Catholics—as members in fact of a sect, whose votaries having nothing in common with their fellow-countrymen, hate and detest them on account of their so-called heresy.

Whoever takes an unbiassed view of the proceedings of the Crusaders, must allow that the animosity with which the Turks regarded the very name of Christian was only the natural effect of a palpable cause.

The Mussulmans have sometimes been extremely tolerant. The Christians, on the contrary, whenever they have been strong enough, have been excessively tyrannical towards all those, whether Turks or not, who differed from them on religious subjects.

When Mahommed the Second took possession of Constantinople, extirpated the last rem-

nants of the Greek Empire, and rooted out the prosperous and overbearing Genoese settlers, so long established in the maritime towns and cities of the Black Sea,—all the Christians of the Turkish Empire, whether belonging to the Greek, Armenian, or Catholic Churches, were reduced to an equal level of contempt and sufferance.

Except by means of intrigues and trickery, none of these sects were strong enough to hurt the others.

Their mutual hatred, however, was as bitter and venomous as ever; but so different were their aims and so furious their animosity, that to hold them in a state of subjection was made a very easy matter for the Turkish Government.

Their previous history and general character both justify the suspicion with which they were ever regarded by the Turks, who well knew that, like the contemptible Jews, they were bigoted, fanatical, and revengeful; and that it was the lack of power alone which kept them quiet.

In the West, men are divided by the hostilities of races. In the East, on the contrary, where religious bigotry and fanaticism, the result of extreme ignorance, the mother of every foolish and absurd prejudice, are rampant to a truly incredible extent,—men are divided by their creeds.

The Greek or Armenian who becomes a Mussulman, is no longer a Greek or an Armenian, but a Turk, enjoying every social and political advantage belonging to the dominant faith.

In Bosnia, men professing the Mahommedan religion proclaim themselves Turks; and cannot perceive that there is anything contradictory or ridiculous in their being ignorant of a single word of the Ottoman tongue.

The Roman Catholic, embracing the heresy of Gregory, calls himself an Armenian; while Papists, although speaking the Armenian language, are not Armenians, but Catholics or Franks, who have separated from and have nothing in common with the parent stock.

In the Valley of Tortoom, in the neighbour-

hood of Olti in Armenia, a large district, maddened by the ill-treatment of the Turks, turned Mussulmans in a mass; and they now exist on the most perfect equality with their Mahommedan neighbours. By a simple change of creed they became men of another nationality.

From this it can be imagined that the conventional Turks are a very mixed race; for, although Tartars in origin and language, their creed as well as their tongue has been so constantly enriched by intercourse and amalgamation with subject and dependent peoples, that in the course of a few hundred years both one and the other have been vastly modified.

Since the taking of Constantinople by Mahommed the Second, the old travellers in Turkey, whose often very interesting works are to be found among the collections of Hakluyt, Ramusio, Churchill and others,—were generally French or Italian priests sent from their own countries to the Eastern Catholics.

The tone of their writings is usually friendly enough towards the Turks; but they constantly

expatiate with great acrimony on the wickedness of all the Armenian or Greek heretics whom they chance to mention.

The French Government, ever since the time of the Crusades, have steadily supported the Roman Catholic Christians of Turkey; and it is this protection, extended to the same people till the present day, which is called *the sentimental* interests of France in the East.

For the last two hundred years, whenever the French Ambassador at Constantinople was in favour at the Porte, he invariably exerted all his influence in behalf of the Papists.

Monks and Jesuits, travelling about the country, had always some cause of complaint concerning the claims, or rights, or privileges of the Catholics; and, as the settlement of such disputes, according to their wishes, usually involved some corresponding disadvantage to the Greeks or Armenians, the ascendency or authority of the Great Monarch was often enabled to persecute these heretics as freely and as easily as if they had been his own subjects.

Although comparatively few in numbers, the Catholics alone enjoyed the protection and aid of a formidable power; and for that reason, while the Turks certainly liked them not a whit better than their neighbours,—they were treated with more respect and consideration than their fellow-countrymen of the Orthodox religion.

The Jesuits were truly the pioneers of French influence in the East; and, as the rulers of that country have always hankered after power or possessions in Turkish territory,—it has been their policy to give them a warm and unconditional support, which has invariably been used for the advancement or to the advantage of Catholicism.

Although generally encouragers of science, provided science did not interfere with their own schemes of self-aggrandisement,—the Jesuits, by means of intrigues and plots, often persecuted the people as well as the priests of the orthodox Church; and they worked hard to prevent printing; unless that useful art was employed in their own interests.

The first persecution ever really undergone by the Catholic Armenians was entirely due to them; because, under the protection of the French Ambassador, they printed in the Armenian language such outrageous abuse of the Armenian Church, and such gross and indecent libels on the Patriarch, that, in the cause of public morality and good order, the Grand Wuzeer directed the summary suppression of the press and the severe punishment of the printers.

Everything in history proves the intense hatred of the Greeks and Armenians for the Catholics; and a Firman of the Porte in which the Jesuits are styled "Certain European monks, wicked as the devil, whose vain doctrines are not less contagious than the French sickness," shows that even the generally indifferent Turks were provoked at their increasing and troublesome impertinence.

The first friendly communication between England and Turkey dates from the year 1581. Queen Elizabeth's title of Queen of Ireland and France, as well as her professed detestation of

those "*idolaters*" who, under the name of Greek and Catholic Christians, "*disgrace the pure religion of Jesus,*" went far to impress the Sultan with a high idea of her power and orthodoxy.

The Turks have ever looked upon their Christian subjects as idolaters, and to hear them so styled by a great European sovereign was very pleasing to their ears. The English were no longer "Ghiours," but people of a faith which, if not the true one, at least approached it.

The Greeks, the Armenians, and all the other Christian subjects of the Porte were regarded by the Turks as secret enemies, or as spies living deceitfully in their midst; and Europeans of the same religion, who sympathised with their grievances or endeavoured to protect them, were naturally distrusted and disliked.

The English hated the pictures and ceremonies of the Greeks as much as they hated the images and indulgences of the Roman Catholics; and in consequence of such pre-

judices, in every way so identical with those of the Turks, it appears that for a great number of years our countrymen have been somewhat more appreciated by the Ottomans than Catholic nations.

For upwards of two hundred years, till the present moment, interference more or less pronounced, according to the strength or weakness of Turkey, has been continued in an uninterrupted stream; but in later times it has again taken the form of open attempts at her ruin or conquest.

It was with the object of getting possession of her Asiatic provinces that the Crusades were encouraged by the Popes; and it is, as everybody is well aware nowadays,—for the same reason, that the Russians are periodically coming to the rescue of the oppressed Christians of Turkey. Constantinople was nevertheless the prize to which all these intrigues were intended to lead up.

The clearly defined antagonism of Russia to Napoleon's dreams of Eastern conquest, brought that conqueror to ruin in its deserts; and since

the fall of the first French Empire, the Governments of St. Petersburg and St. James have ever watched each other with jealous and distrustful eyes.

Out-manœuvred in her designs on Constantinople, which will eventually in all likelihood fall into Austrian hands,—Russia must look for compensation in another direction. Her commanding strategical position in Armenia is without doubt the point from which she will now work; and, having protected the Christians as long as that method suited her convenience,—her latest plan is to support the Turks.

For this purpose, Muscovite diplomacy cleverly plays upon their well-known religious prejudices, and does all it can to oppose the introduction of reforms. The notorious misgovernment and anarchy of Asia Minor is altogether suitable to Russian schemes. Whatever amelioration the English protectorate attempts to introduce into its benighted provinces, will be opposed and misrepresented by Muscovite craft; and it is for this reason,

far more than from any other cause, that the difficulties in the way of an approach to tolerant or reasonable government are to be apprehended.

CHAPTER IX.

RUSSIAN DESIGNS.

Extraordinary Prophecy of the Khan of the Crimea.—Russia, having protected the Christians, now pretends to protect the Turks.—Russian Designs on Constantinople balked; will seek for Compensation elsewhere.—England and Russia face to face.—The Central Asian Question.—The Schemes of Peter the Great.—Politics of all these Countries interwoven together.—Afghans in Persia.—Russian Conquests on the Caspian.—Peter the Great's Will.—The Position of Russia in Asia more secure than Ours.—The Indian Press.—The Provinces round the Caspian the true Base for an attack on India.—These Countries saved from Russia by Nadir Shah.—Georgia—Paskievitch.—Annexations in Georgia and Armenia.—The Armenian Trilateral gives Russia command of Persia.—Danger to British India.—Echmiadzin, the Centre of Armenian Thought.—Armenians look to Russia.

CHAPTER IX.

RUSSIAN DESIGNS.

So long ago as the beginning of the last century, Devlet Ghiray, Khan of the Crimea, observed with great alarm the growing power of Russia; and, in words of actual prophecy, solemnly warned the Sultan that Peter the Great had "changed the clothes and ceremonies of his people, and introduced German rites; that he would first ravage the Crimea"—a feat long since performed by Muscovite violence and cruelty—"*and afterwards ruin Turkey by means of intrigues with her Christian subjects.*"*

This insidious policy has been cleverly managed for nearly two centuries; and at

* Von Hammer, "History of the Ottoman Empire," vol. xiii., p. 224; and Prince Cantimir, chapter xciv.

this moment the wished-for result is being worked out with marvellous ability and cunning.

It is true that the Treaty of St. Stephano has not been ratified in all its clauses; but—Russia has, nevertheless, reaped such transcendent advantages as a consequence of her unjust and monstrous aggression on Turkey, and the latter unhappy country has been made so weak, helpless, and vulnerable,—that there can be but little doubt that the next attack will hasten, or perhaps effect her irretrievable ruin and final conquest. It would be as easy to tear up the Treaty of Berlin as that of Paris.

The protectorate of the Roman Catholic Christians of Turkey might give the French a very great influence in the affairs of the Porte; but similar relations between the Greek Christians and the Russians would be quite tantamount to a replacement of the Sultan's authority for that of the Czar.

It had long been the object of Russia to gain this advantage, and her pretensions on that

head were really the cause of the Crimean war.

The ambition and genius of Peter the Great, who seems to have lusted for universal conquest, perceived that the sympathies of the Greek Christians might give him a support which would smooth his way to Constantinople. With a view, therefore, to encouraging that portion of the subjects of Turkey to look towards Moscow for aid against the oppression of the Ottomans, he, by means of secret agents, subsidies, and bribes, commenced an underhand policy, which,—although only quite recently made known to the English public,—has always been worked with equal perseverance and secrecy.

These subtle manœuvres are being carried on at the present moment in Asia Minor with greater pains than ever.

Two years ago the Russians were the warm friends of their persecuted and oppressed co-religionists of Turkey; but according to the latest news, and, as was foreseen with the most absolute certainty by any observer skilful enough

to detect the incredibly impertinent pretensions of Muscovite diplomacy,—the bewildered Turks are taught to believe that their real friends live at St. Petersburg.

The Ottoman Government, which hates all the European Cabinets with equal fervour, only wants to be let alone. That, however, they are beginning to think must be impossible.

"England," cried out the whole Turkish Press, the other day, "has betrayed us; and as England is certainly the natural enemy of our old enemy, who have got all that they wanted, the time has come for throwing ourselves into the hands of Russia."

The unexpected alliance of Austria and Germany, and the grand strategical position taken up by the former power at Novi Bazar, —have effectually weakened the chance of Russia's ever getting possession of Constantinople.

The Muscovites, balked on the Bosphorus, will without any doubt seek for compensation somewhere else; and before very long, the British Protectorate of Asia Minor will be put to the

test. In that part of the world, England and Russia stand face to face. Neither Germany nor Austria are interested in the question.

This question is not any longer the Eastern Question. It is what everybody all over England is now talking about under the name of the Central Asian Question; which means, according to the sensible and truly patriotic work of Mr. Demetrius Boulger, what is to be the destiny, not only of all those fertile and interesting provinces lying between the frontiers of Russia and those of Hindustan, but even what is to be the fate of India itself? It is certainly a subject of vast importance, for it turns on our place as a Great Power.

How laughable the idea that the possession of Batoum, Ardahan, and Kars, could in any way affect the stability of our Indian Empire! —was a remark that few people have not either heard spoken or else read during the course of last year. To men discussing that annexation in the neighbourhood of those well-known and celebrated fortresses,—the apathy with which

they were talked of in England appeared neither more nor less than national idiotcy. Public opinion was not what is called *educated* on the topic.

The subject here treated of is Armenia; and in order to understand the attitude of Russia on this side a retrospect is necessary.

Peter the Great, without doubt one of the most calculating, far-seeing, and sagacious rulers of whom history makes mention,—determined, by means of his fleet, to turn the great Caspian Sea into a Russian lake, and thus to force the commerce of Persia, as well as of India, into his own country. It was a grand and statesmanlike idea, in every way worthy of the master-mind of the Czar. It is by men of this stamp that empires are formed, strong and respectable governments consolidated, and the destinies of the world changed.

The first idea of the autocrat was to form an empire in the neighbourhood of the Caspian; and,—as nothing seemed impossible to that extraordinary man,—he established a company of Russian merchants in the town of

Shamakee—actually believed to have been the abode of Cyrus,—but which, at this time, was, notwithstanding the ravages of the wild Lesgis, —a great commercial emporium in the hands of wealthy Armenians, trading with Hindustan on an extensive scale.

This commerce caused considerable numbers of Armenians to visit, as well as to settle in India; and their descendants are merchants there at the present day.

The Russians living in Shamakee were, as might be expected, plundered by the incorrigible Lesgi; and the weak Persian Government,—like that of the Turks,—being unable to give Peter the Great the satisfaction he demanded, the latter profiting by the occasion, took the law into his own hands, and accompanied by his wife Catherine, twenty-two thousand infantry, nine thousand dragoons, and fifteen thousand Cossacks, seized upon Daghestan.

The politics of all those countries lying to the east of Turkey are closely interwoven together; and when Peter first began intriguing and interfering there, the Afghans had

conquered Persia, and a ruler or Shah of that nationality was seated on the Musnud at Ispahan.

Peter the Great was accompanied by one of his English friends; and this gentleman states that the Czar's motive for this invasion was "the desire of avenging the insults and wrongs which his subjects, settled on the shores of the Caspian, had suffered, particularly in the capture of Shamakee; and a desire to succour the King of Persia against the Afghans, *who offered important cessions in return for the aid of the Russian monarch.*"

There can be no doubt that the disorders and civil wars by which these countries were at this time devastated, powerfully assisted the temerity of the Czar; but, at a period when, in comparison to the large mercantile fleet at present navigating the Caspian in every direction, there were very few boats of any kind upon it—Peter, with the aid of ships brought down from the Volga, utilised the former convenient water-way for the transportation of his soldiers.

What, then, is to prevent the passage of an army of one hundred thousand men across its bosom at the present moment?

In a short time, Bachu and Derbent, as well as the provinces of Guilan, Mazanderan, and Asterabad, were added to the dominions of the Czar; and the western shores of the Caspian fell completely under his control.

Here had once been the principal possessions of the ancient Medes; and thus Peter became the ruler of the first kingdom of Cyrus.

Persia, as well as Turkey, had provinces differently governed; for, while some were their immediate subjects, others were vassal, or tributary, or protected states; and a few of these have become independent or semi-independent.

The Central Asian Question is—Are they to remain so? Are they to belong to Russia? Are they to be protected by one of the two Great Powers? Is it possible that either Asiatic Turkey or Persia can stand alone?

The wild Lesgis and Tartars of Daghestan belonged to the category of vassal or protected

states; but before his death, Peter reigned despotically from the Baltic to the Caspian.

As the Greeks and Russians belonged to the same Church, the former looked to the latter for support. They rallied round the Czars as round a centre; and, by establishing a kind of ecclesiastical protection,—the way was paved for those intrigues among the Christians of Turkey which ended by placing Constantinople in the grasp of Russia.

With an audacity in every way worthy of the most glorious days of English history, "the Queen of Cities" was saved by the arrival of the British fleet. That part of the Great Peter's exhortations to his posterity, after being worked out slowly and sagaciously for upwards of a century,—brought the Muscovites to the gates of Constantinople. They were balked before they could lay hands on the prize.

Taught by the proceedings of Russia since the death of Peter, let us turn to that extraordinary document recently published under the name of his Will. The experience of the past ought to be a lesson of useful warning.

"We must," says the Will of Peter the Great, —equally important and interesting whether spurious or not,—"progress as much as possible in the direction of Constantinople and India. He who can once get possession of these places is the real ruler of the world. With this view we must provoke constant quarrels, at one time with Turkey, and at another with Persia. We must establish wharves and docks in the Black Sea, and by degrees make ourselves masters of that sea, as well as of the Baltic, which is a doubly important element in the success of our plan. We must hasten the downfall of Persia, rush on into the Persian Gulf; if possible, re-establish the ancient commercial intercourse of the Levant through Syria, and force our way to India, which is the storehouse of the world; once there, we can dispense with English gold."

Since the death of Peter, all these sagacious exhortations have been carried out with surprising diligence by his well-served successors; for nobody can say that the diplomatic service of Russia is not conducted with marvellous ability, foresight, and address.

Great harbours, docks, and wharves have been constructed in the Black and Caspian Seas; with pitiless cruelty the wild tribes of the Caucasus have been gradually subdued; and Muscovite colonies, founded in imitation of the Asiatic settlements of Alexander,—form organisations by which further attempts at conquest are vastly facilitated.

The Russian system of conquest in Asia has nothing in common with that of the English in India. The Muscovites have no native army. Every soldier who enlists in a Russian regiment becomes nationalised. All are equals serving under the same flag; and consequently there is never any danger of a mutiny.

The position of Russia in the countries which she has conquered is quite secure; and, according to all the best and most trustworthy authorities, —nothing can be more absurd than the idea that there is any disaffection among either the Cossacks or the Circassians, the Poles, the Karapapaks, or the Tartars belonging to the Imperial army.

I have myself frequently heard Turks

acknowledge and lament that important fact.

The heterogeneous mass of nationalities and religions with which the Asiatic Legions of the Czar are so copiously leavened, can always be relied on for fidelity, courage, and good conduct. Men who in India would be called "*natives,*" may rise, not only to the grade of subaltern officers, but also to very important positions in the Russian army; and in that they enjoy a great advantage over our Sikhs or Goorkhas, who, whatever their merit or distinction, can never hope to equal in rank *any* European officer.

The native Indian Press has quite recently teemed with angry complaints against the English policy in that respect; and the Russians declare that both Hindoos and Mussulmans alike, long to be freed, by their aid and protection, from those invidious distinctions resulting from old English aristocratical and feudal prejudices.

Such narrow-minded notions, they say, are foreign to the liberal-minded Russians. In their army all men are brothers.

The discontented portion of the natives of India are well aware of this difference; and very recently, an officer who had served in one of our Native Cavalry Regiments, told me that a Mussulman sepoy in a fit of disappointment at not having been made a Havildar, coolly told the Adjutant that he would go to the Russians, in whose service he would soon become a real officer.

The natural and secure base for an army marching on Herat for the conquest of the Punjab, or the sack of Delhi,—are those fertile countries lying round the shores of the Caspian Sea. Gibbon styles Nadir Shah a "Persian robber." Although a Persian King, he was a Turcoman by birth; and it was entirely owing to his intrepidity and generalship that all those fertile countries were saved from Russian conquest.

Everything in the East is different from the West. Analogies between them are quite deceptive. What would be impossible in Europe is feasible in Asia; and the bent of the Eastern mind is such that no comparison can be made between their modes of thought and ours. The

Orientals are governed by imagination, by the renown of some leader of men, or by their belief in the strength of a Power. There is no such thing as common sense, or what we call patriotism, among them.

Careers like those of Nadir, a Turcoman shepherd, raising himself up to be Shah of Persia, and afterwards sacking Delhi, are usual enough ; but it is only in the East that such men are always possible.

Nadir Shah drove the Afghans for ever out of Persia, and seated himself on the throne of Teheran. He took the renowned and celebrated fortress of Kars, and silenced for a long time the pretensions of Russia. The Empress Catherine—in every way a worthy successor to Peter the Great—at length renewed intrigues which, if they had ceased for a time, had never been abandoned. She began by opening diplomatic relations with one Heraclius, Prince of Georgia ; and by means of a treaty induced that dignitary to place "himself, heirs, and successors," under the protection of the Empress Catherine, "her heirs and successors."

This caprice of Heraclius was brought about by his belief that the Persians, by whom he was protected, were not so powerful as their Russian rivals. Before long, however, he received a physical demonstration that he had made a great mistake. Georgia, as well as Armenia, was invaded by the Persians; Tiflis was completely sacked; and these successes were as usual followed by such an abominable massacre of Georgians and Armenians, that, in the words of the Persian historian, the unhappy Christians "received a specimen of what they were to expect on the day of judgment."

It is probable that, had Catherine lived, this quarrel would have been fought out between the Persians and their Russian enemies, who were actually threatening Resht and Teheran; but it is curious to remark how the Turks,—blinded by their jealousy and hatred of the Kissilbashes, till they were unable to perceive the injuries they were drawing on themselves,—always stupidly abetted that dismemberment of Persia which has not yet ceased.

In the beginning of this century all the pro-

vinces north of the Kur were taken from Persia; and it was solely through the intervention of England that this dangerous course of robbery was stopped.

After the Treaty of Turcomanchai, the Shah was certainly no more than a creature in the hands of the Russian Ambassador at Teheran. England was no longer trusted, and the insulting treatment experienced by Sir John Malcolm showed that she was not even feared.

At the present moment, thank God! the knowledge and prescience of that patriotic and Conservative Government whose duty it is to conduct the foreign policy of England, is very different from the dulness of the diplomatists of the last century; but a retrospective view is nevertheless just now extremely interesting, because it shows how ignorant even the best-informed and most learned Europeans were with regard to everything connected with the affairs of the East.

The French were expelled from India by the Dutch; but, at the Peace of Utrecht, so blind were the Dutch Ambassadors to the

real value of the victories of their immortal admirals, that—with an apathy which now appears almost incredible—they surrendered, in exchange for some trumpery compensation, every advantage that they had gained.

In a similar manner—and through the genius and lifelong courage and able diplomacy of Dupleix—the English in the last century were virtually driven out of Hindustan; but the French Plenipotentiaries, sitting round a table at Aix-la-Chapelle, paid so little attention to what they contemptuously styled "Sepoy wars," that with inconceivable stupidity they followed the example of their Dutch predecessors, and gave a fresh start to a movement which ended in the Empire of England in the East.

In later years, Napoleon Buonaparte saw the sin which had been committed. In alliance with the Czar Paul he hoped to retrieve it. Massena was nominated to the command of an army corps to co-operate with the Russians for the invasion of India; but more pressing affairs nearer home turned away the attention of the French Emperor from the East.

The apathy, or what is worse still, the hostility with which the ordinary radical politician looks upon our interference in the affairs of Afghanistan, or Asia Minor, is not to be wondered at. He knows no better. He is as ignorant of these matters as he is of the policy of the different peoples who live in the moon; and acting as he does in such crass ignorance—he is no more than an imitator, as far as in him lies, of those Frenchmen, and of those Dutchmen, who ruined the power of their respective countries in the East.

History mentions the conduct of these politicians with contempt and wonder; but that contempt and wonder will be far exceeded when future historians, writing about the history of our own times, retail to a laughing or sighing posterity the marvellous and absurd tale of those shameful "atrocity meetings" presided over by Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Freeman came there with the exclamation of "Perish India!" He was certainly logical; but, as a former French minister at Teheran said to me: "The proceedings of those

gentlemen" (he did not use the word gentlemen, but a French word) "in gulling the ignorant for purely party purposes is shameful, incredible, inconceivable;" and so it was, and the more people study the subject, the more they will be convinced of it.

It must be confessed that it was not till recent years that the Foreign Office, whether acting under a Liberal or a Conservative Government, understood the influence of Persian or Turkish politics on English interests in the East.

The anarchy prevailing in Afghanistan resulted in the establishment of an independent government at Herat.

Urged on by Russia, that key of British India was attacked by the Persians; and the courage and devotion of Lieutenant Pottinger behind its walls alone frustrated the long-planned and carefully-concocted intrigues of the Muscovite minister at Teheran.

I suppose that there is not a man in England who can read, or even listen, who is not well aware of the dishonourable manner in which the policy of Russia is carried on by its able,

though thoroughly unscrupulous representatives. The proper education for officers appointed to negotiate with these polished and insinuating deputies, would be a long experience among Hebrew old clothesmen and smooth-tongued usurers. To use a well-known expression, *they will stick at nothing*; and there is no deception that they are not proud of having carried out, provided they obtain their end.

Whenever the superior authorities are caught in their attempts at intrigue, they invariably disavow their agents. As soon as the Russians failed in their attempt on Herat, Count Nesselrode disowned the Russian Ambassador at Teheran. Count Simonich was recalled. Exactly the same thing happened to their bustling agent in Afghanistan, Captain Vicovitch; and that unfortunate man, smarting under the indignities to which he was subjected, blew his brains out.

Napoleon Buonaparte, who, in his dreams of universal conquest, thought most of following the footsteps of Alexander for the invasion of India, saw—as any man who has studied the

subject must see—the real advantage and even absolute necessity of Persia as a base of operations for that enterprise.

He consequently made a treaty with the Shah against Russia; and, with a view to the expulsion of the English, meditated an advance upon India through Afghanistan.

The battles of Eylau and Friedland ended in Napoleon and Alexander embracing each other as dear friends on the celebrated raft at Tilsit; and perhaps the Czar was quite sincere when he said, in an outburst of affection: "I hate the English as much as you do."

At this time, two English embassies—one from Calcutta, speaking in the name of the East India Company, and the other from London, as plenipotentiaries of King George—arrived at Teheran. Nothing could have been more absurd than two ambassadors with different instructions; and, as a natural result, we not only appeared very foolish to the sedate Persians; but British influence, in consequence of such a bungling and ridiculous transaction, greatly declined.

The cynical manner in which Napoleon abandoned the Persians the moment that he thought it was good policy to do so, and the haste with which he formed a cordial alliance with Russia, threw the court of Teheran entirely into our hands; and in 1814 we bound ourselves to defend Persia by force.

Till the successes of Paskievitch in 1828, it was by means of hard fighting, as well as by intrigues, that the Russians forced themselves into a domineering and threatening strategical position on the Armenian side of Asiatic Turkey.

The capture of Akhalzik placed the Circassians as well as the Lesghis at the feet of Russia; for it was always from this point that Turkish emissaries went among those wild and martial tribes in order to sustain their fierce hostility to the infidels of the North. Akhalzik was as important to the Russians as it had been to the Turks; but its Mussulman inhabitants having been massacred or driven out, it is at the present time a purely Christian town.

This stronghold is situated in Armenia; and,

the capture of Erivan from the Persians about the same time, caused vast numbers of Armenians to become (whatever people who know nothing about the matter or who write for so-thought party purposes may say to the contrary) happy and willing subjects of the Czars.

The capture of Akhalzik is described by Sir Archibald Alison in his "History of Europe," at considerable length; and in the fervid language of a writer of military operations. According to him, as well as according to Fonton, the Turks, dragging the Armenians on to the house-tops, there slew them within sight of their Russian friends, because they well knew that these unhappy Christians hailed their co-religionists as deliverers, and rejoiced at the defeat of their overbearing masters.

These circumstances are historical facts, which can hardly be seriously disputed; yet for some occult, metaphysical reasons, we hear that, notwithstanding such cruel and savage pranks, the Armenians hate the Russians, and much prefer the absurd government of the Turks.

Such a bent of the inclination appears quite contrary to the laws of human nature.

When the Russians, under Paskievitch, were thus easily taking possession of large portions of Armenia and Persia, we—although bound by the Treaty of 1814 to protect the latter country by force—*sneaked* (there is really no other word for our conduct at this time) out of our engagement; and tried to comfort the astonished Persians with a present of two hundred thousand tomams.

The Russian minister, as might have been expected, did not fail to take advantage of our meanness on this unfortunate occasion; and no one could blame the poor Shah for hating and distrusting his English allies.

Although geographically described as either Russia, Persia, or Turkey, large portions of all these kingdoms belonged to the ancient and indestructible country of Armenia; and a great part of the population of such important provinces are Armenians both in language, religion, and aspirations.

Till quite recently the Armenians of Turkey

were, politically speaking, an unimportant part of the population, as unknown to the foreign policy of this country as were the Jews to Ahasuerus.

The Persian Armenians have till now been still less thought about; but it must be remembered that there are Armenians in Persia as well as in Turkey, and that their destiny too is closely connected with the Central Asian Question.

The capture of Kars, and the surrender of Batoum, give Russia complete command of Persia; and a railway from the latter port to Erivan will bring the enormous southern army of the Czar all round the indefensible frontiers of the Shah.

The collapse of the Turkish power in Armenia terrified the Persians—intelligent enough to understand their own interests—out of their wits; but they could only, like true Mussulmans, resign themselves to their fate; for now, unless we prevent it, they seem very likely to become mere vassals of Russia.

It cannot be too strongly insisted on, that

Persia is the true and scientific base for the invasion of India, and that it is through that country that Russia's road to Herat lies.

The martial Turcomans hate the Russians; but they look to England and Persia for support. Like all Easterns, they worship and respect success; and the check which we have given the Muscovites in Afghanistan has exercised a great influence on those wild horsemen of the Black Desert.

The capture of Merv, or of Seracks, is an evident menace to Herat, which is the bulwark of India, and whose possession by Russia might, without exaggeration, be described as a loaded pistol held at the temples of our supremacy in Hindustan.

Let there be no doubt about the matter! Russia commanding Persia, and allied with Turkey,* would be a serious danger to India. Political blindness is a species of disease from which either nations or their representatives occasionally suffer. None are as blind as those who will not see; but some men are so head-

* See page 230.

strong in their ignorance as to declare that there is no connection between events because they are incapable of perceiving it.

Circumstances appear isolated to them which are nevertheless very far from being so; for it is at least just possible that such men as Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir Arnold Kemball, who have passed a great part of their lives in these countries, may be quite right in their view of our policy there; and that people who have never been near them, and know nothing about them, may be quite wrong.

Before dismissing the invasion of India in the course of a few years, as a chimerical project, we ought to remember how the French laughed at Marshal Niel's warning; and how a very short time afterwards the Prussians were bivouacking in the Champs Elysées.

Many years ago Mr. Ellis, the English Ambassador at Teheran, warned Lord Palmerston against the intrigues of the Russians in Persia.

"Persia," said he, "is the first parallel from whence the assault of India will be given."

Mr. Ellis was recalled for his pains. Persia and India were remote countries; and when a statesman of the capacity of Lord Palmerston could perceive no connection between the two, it is not wonderful if the question is still very far from being generally or clearly understood."

"If ever," wrote Mr. Boulger, "if ever India is to be wrested from England by external force, it will be from this direction that the attack will be made."*

"There is," wrote Sir John Malcolm in a letter to Lord Palmerston in 1838, "no impediment, either from the physical features of the country or from the deficiency of supplies, to the march of a large army from the frontiers of Georgia to Candahar, or, as I believe, to the Indus."

Candahar, by all military authorities, is allowed to be the Metz of India.

With Muscovite generals and private soldiers alike, nothing would be so popular as the invasion of India. The officers of the Russian army in the Caucasus talk of nothing else. "The cost of

* Russians and English in Central Asia.

absorbing the Khanates must be recouped," they say, "in the spoil of Delhi and Lahore." No matter who invented those ominous words, they are re-echoed by the voices of thousands of men.

Let it be remembered that the army of Trans-caspiana, as it is called, is only the head of that corps which captured both Erzerum and Kars.

It is quite true that this huge army-corps must watch the Circassians, as well as guard the great Armenian trilateral of Batoum, Ardahan, and Kars.

But how, it is asked, does the latter undoubtedly almost impregnable strategical position, so easily gained by Russia, affect the frontiers of British India?

As it effectually protects the Russian flank against any movement of the Turkish army, and in fact neutralises it altogether; its possession lets loose, at the very lowest calculation, about fifty thousand men, from the forces of the Caucasus, for operations in Persia, with a view to the invasion of India.

The harbour of Batoum puts this corps in easy communication by water with the Crimea and Odessa, from which places it could be strengthened and supported by the great southern army of Russia. By means of their fleet on the Caspian, assisted by ships brought down from the Volga, the Muscovite generals could convey, in the space of about a week, a body of one hundred thousand men, with all its artillery, munitions, and stores, across that inland sea.

At the present moment, the Caspian is the only impediment between a Russian army and the walls of Candahar; and that Turco-Russian alliance, now being advocated by a strong party in Turkey, is a fearful threat to British India.

If people in England made but little of the annexations by Russia of the formidable Armenian trilateral, it was seen by the Persians in a very different light; for the excellent reason that as it was nearer home, it frightened them more; and they paid greater attention to a position that was an immediate danger to themselves.

In order to be attentive, it is first necessary

to be interested, and "attention," said a great French philosopher, "is a microscope which, enlarging in our eyes objects without distorting them, causes us to perceive in them an infinity of resemblances and differences invisible to the inattentive eye."

There is a good road the whole way from the Caspian to Candahar; and nothing can be more ridiculous than the supposition that it is a howling wilderness. Food, water, and forage exist in great abundance all along it. The Russian Ambassador drove from Teheran to Herat in his own carriage.

It may be said that a treaty between England and Russia guarantees the soil of Persia against occupation; but was not a similar treaty for the integrity of Turkey torn up the moment that the Government of St. Petersburg considered itself strong enough to break it? Who, therefore, is so foolish as to believe that the convention in question will be more respected than the Treaty of Paris?

It will be respected just as long as it suits the convenience of the Czar to respect it; but

when the time comes—the veil will be thrown aside, and then the intentions of Holy Russia will not be hidden behind a cloak of insidiousness as they are now.

That eternal dispute about the Turco-Persian frontier is a specimen of Russian evil machinations in this quarter; and since a period long anterior to the Crimean war, the wily Muscovite commissioners have thrown every impediment in the way of a solution of that important question. They determined long ago that it should never be settled, and at the present moment an amicable understanding with regard to it is as far away as ever.

With Persia friendly, or even neutral, a Russian advance to the frontiers of Afghanistan or of India presents no difficulties; but with the former country hostile, there are insuperable obstacles to the expedition.

What then was the signification of the surrender by the Treaty of Berlin of the province of Khotour to Persia? It was a bribe from Russia to the Shah.

At the present moment, the whole of that

great road from the Caspian to Candahar is, certainly as far as Meshed, in the hands of Russia; and all along that easy highway there are numerous stations, where large army-corps could be very comfortably as well as permanently cantoned.

From the time of Alexander the Great till the comparatively recent invasion of Nadir Shah, all the conquerors of India, except Baber, marched by this route on Hindustan. Herat is the prize at which they have all aimed; and Herat is now the goal about which the Russians in Georgia and Armenia are sedulously plotting.

Every Russian move towards Meshed is not only a threat and danger to the power of England; but it is also a tighter grasp upon the throat of Persia.

The Persians well know that they have nothing to fear from England, and it is only dread of Russia that could ever make them hostile to us. Recent accounts appear to indicate a more active policy at Teheran; but, if we remain listless too long, it is quite within the bounds of possibility that the fortress of Herat

may be suddenly seized by our natural enemies.

At the time of Paskievitch, Akhalzik and Erivan were very important strategical positions; but the annexation of the territory on which stands the celebrated monastery of Echmiadzin was a capture of the highest significance, because it opened a large and fertile field for boundless intrigues.

The advantages to Russia of including that holy place within her frontier line, is not even noticed by Sir Archibald Alison in his history of the campaign of Paskievitch; because at that time nobody hardly knew or cared anything about the Armenians, and those who were slightly acquainted with them considered such cowardly and peaceful pedlars as political nonentities in Eastern politics. The Russians did not think so, however.

The monastery and cathedral of Echmiadzin may, without any exaggeration, be described as the heart of the Armenian nation; because it is on that sacred spot, within sight of the stupendous Ararat, that Armenian pilgrims from India,

from Constantinople, from Egypt, from Russia, as well as from the distant countries of France, Germany, and Italy, and even from England and the United States, assembling together at certain seasons and hailing one another as brothers, consult about the prospects and aspirations of their fallen race. Each one tells how they are treated by the governments under which they live; and the despised Armenian, suffering under the rule of the Turks, reflects with envy on the superior condition of his countrymen subjected to the free and tolerant administrations of the West.

Great indeed is the difference between the sleek Armenian merchant educated in Europe, and the timid, cringing, and suspicious trader who has thriven and grown up under Mussulman institutions; but they are both Armenians: and the former, listening to a pathetic account of the outrages and ill-treatment to which the latter is constantly subjected, feels natural and heartfelt sympathies with a condition in every way so different from that in which his own lot has been cast.

Armenian priests performing long journeys, come to Echmiadzin for a supply of that holy oil which the Patriarch alone has the power to consecrate; and thus the unity of the Church, as well as the fraternal ties of the people, are ever tightened and cemented by constant gatherings at these respected shrines. From here are brought accounts—afterwards hearkened to with astonishment in many an Armenian mountain home—of the wealth, the freedom, and the happiness of their thriving and prosperous countrymen living far away in very distant places; and from here also go forth accounts of Turkish, Persian, and, Koordish cruelties, which find a sympathetic echo in every Armenian heart on the face of the earth.

Railways and steamers, the facility of communication, and the easy circulation of printed news, increase year by year those bonds of union, and even of affection, ever subsisting between the dispersed communities of this interesting race. The genius of English government in India is applauded; and, although the meddlesomeness of the bureaucratic system of the Mus-

covites is particularly offensive and detestable to the Armenians, as they clearly perceive in it an attempt on their existence as a separate and distinct nation,—it is quite certain that they passionately long to change the rule of the Sultans for that of the Czars.

It is perfectly true that with regard to the education of youth, as well as with regard to the unrestrained instruction given in the Armenian national school by the public schoolmaster, the Armenians have no wish to change the Turkish apathy by which they are unnoticed, for the Muscovite interference, supervision, and regulated system by which, whether they like it or not, their children are metamorphosed into Russians by word of command; but every extension of the Russian frontier in the direction of Armenia protects the inhabitants against outrages of the worst kind, and which—to borrow the words of Buckle, with regard to events constantly happening in France before the great Revolution—"make men's blood boil in their veins."

The Turkish Government certainly has the

power, but it evidently has not the wish, to protect the Armenian Christians against every species of indignity and wrong practised on them by the Koords; and consequently, and as a necessary result of the simplest laws of human nature, the people sigh for any change of administration strong enough or reasonable enough to guard the honour and safety of their women and their children.

CHAPTER X.

THE ARMENIANS.

The English Protectorate of Asia Minor popular with all Classes.—Echmiadzin.—Tolerance of the Armenians.—The Patriarch.—The Nonsense written about Armenia in England.—Narses.—The Bishop of Baibourt.—Interest attaching tô the Armenians.—Their Dispersions.—The Armenians a Nation.—The Lever they give to Russian Diplomacy.—Protection of Russia hailed with Delight.—Russian Officialism detested.—Strong National Feeling among the Armenians.—Mr. Bryce.—The Patriarch's View of Russia.—European Accounts of Armenia.—Difficulty of getting Information.—Examples.—General Loris Melikoff.—Reasons why the Armenians hate both the Russians and the Turks.—Their Fear of talking freely to Strangers.—Amusing Characteristics on the Capture of Hassan Kalé by the Russians.—Joy of the Armenians at that Event.—Russian Intrigues in Armenia.—Prince Joseph Dolgorouki made Head of the Armenian Church.—Apathy with which the Turks and Persians regarded this Appointment.—Armenians capable of the highest Civilisation.—Russian Meddlesomeness.—Real Liberty to the Armenians will stop Russian Intrigues.—Turkish Government fears Emancipation of Armenians.—Armenians the "smartest men" in the World.—Turks ever mistrustful of the Christians.

CHAPTER X.

THE ARMENIANS.

POLITICAL writers have passed the most severe strictures on the English protectorate of Asia Minor; yet it has struck me as very remarkable that long before such a sagacious project was mooted, or perhaps even thought of, a similar scheme was mentioned by the Armenian Bishop of Baibourt, whose ideas on that subject seemed to coincide with those frequently expressed both by Christians, Catholics (as they like to be called), and Turks, in every part of the country where I had opportunities of hearing their notions on the absurdity and inequality of the Sultan's rule.

This opinion was unanimous; and as the

people concerned appear capable of forming clear ideas on the system most suitable to their wants, the benevolent designs of the English Government for the guidance and protection of Turkey, as well as for the support and care which it is hoped will be extended equally to all men without distinction of creed, may succeed in effecting a vast amelioration in the social condition of those benighted provinces.

It is true that the free institutions of the West appear unsuitable to the East; and if, by means of an European constitution, the Biblical inhabitants of Asia Minor are civilised and reformed, it will contradict the experience of millions of men during thousands of years.

The convent and cathedral of Echmiadzin, built in the year of our Lord three hundred and five, on the site of a heathen temple,—although frequently sacked and destroyed, has ever been restored by the piety of the Armenians; who, as before remarked, come hither from the different parts of the earth, to which—in consequence of the fearful vicissitudes of fortune by which they have been so long overwhelmed

and crushed down—they have been driven, or scattered.

The Patriarchs of Echmiadzin, who are really the sole chiefs of the whole Armenian nation, have constantly resided here for upwards of four hundred years.

Among all the Eastern Christians, none are so tolerant as the poor Armenians; for, although they hate the Catholics on account of their interference in the affairs of their Church, as well as on account of the gross libels with which they have frequently been assailed by unscrupulous Jesuits, they acknowledge as Christians and co-religionists the baptised of all persuasions.

In the cathedral is built a monument to Mr. Macdonald, an English Ambassador to Persia, who, dying in the neighbourhood, was interred within its walls; and the burial of a heretic in such a sacred place is a clear proof of the kindliness and indulgence, towards even Protestants, on the part of the highest Gregorian ecclesiastics.

The Pope is so far acknowledged by the Armenian Church, that he is allowed to be the

first Patriarch of Christendom; but the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople, as well of course as the great Patriarch of Echmiadzin, are in every way his equals.

In reality, however, the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and of Constantinople have no greater claim to authority than those of either Lisbon or Venice, because any of them can be deposed by the Catholicos of Echmiadzin, as he is called; while he, being anointed, sits upon his spiritual, and indeed, so to say, temporal throne as securely as the Pope himself.

Nobody can depose him.

For centuries no separate Armenian history can be said to exist, because that unhappy people, subjected to either the Turks or the Persians, have lived only as slaves.

The Armenians do not look to the Russians?

The simplest answer to such a question was given five-and-thirty years ago by the Patriarch Narses to the enlightened and far-seeing traveller, Baron Haxthausen of Berlin. "For

two hundred years," said he, "we have been looking to Russia, and hoping for salvation from her. I could see safety nowhere but in alliance with Russia."

"Tell me," said the Armenian Bishop of Baibourt, "why you wise and sagacious English people read and write such absurd nonsense about Armenia and the Armenians in your honourable newspapers?"

Why indeed! Because such information is not intended to enable men at a distance to form clear notions on subjects concerning which they are entirely dependent on the reports of others; but it is, on the contrary, meant for the advancement of so-thought party interests.

Armenia must ever be one of the most interesting countries on the face of the earth; because from here has spread out the legends and religions of the world; because here, since the prehistoric days of Nimrod, Semiramis, and Sesostris—since the more modern wars of the Assyrians, the Medes, and the Persians; of Darius, of Xerxes, of Alexander the Great; of the Romans, of the Parthians, of the Arabs; of

Genghis Khan, as well as those of the devastating hordes of Timour the Tartar—the peoples and nations of the world have struggled for the dominion of Asia.*

It was in these pastures that the Sooni and Shiah sects fought together for centuries; and now Christianity and Mahommedanism, apparently in accordance with those eternal laws of fate constantly directing the affairs of the universe, are preparing for their final struggle on ground which may be called the lists of the world; and which seems destined by nature as an artery for the transmission of the riches of the earth.

How is it possible not to feel compassion and sympathy with a classical people who, like trembling willows overwhelmed by the forces of tremendous floods, have nevertheless not been entirely swept away; but who have, on the contrary, and notwithstanding the smallness of their numbers, ever preserved their patriotism, their language, and their religion.

The majority of the nation is scattered

* Haxthausen's "Trans-Caucasia."

over the face of the earth, where they exist, like the Jews, in separate colonies or communities; but the nationality has never been dissolved.

The old language of the fatherland has never been corrupted nor forgotten; separation from their kindred seems only to increase their pathetic attachment to ancient customs, habits, and the cradle of their race; and to-day, after centuries of fierce persecutions, they seem destined as the agents by which Asia Minor may become again civilised.

The dispersion of the Armenians has been compared to that of the Jews; but, unlike the latter, the former are a nation with a home, towards which their eyes are constantly turned, in which their centre of political and religious life is nourished, and of which Echmiadzin is the capital, and the Patriarch or Catholicos the king.

At his call, the Armenians living beyond the frontier of Armenia, and especially those of India, subscribe freely enormous sums of money for the support of their national church—and for the advancement of learning

and culture in their dearly loved and elegant native tongue.

According to the traditions of the Armenians—Echmiadzin is built on the site of the Garden of Eden; and the angel with the flaming sword was the neighbouring Mount Ararat, at one time, without doubt, a burning volcano.

Russian diplomacy saw, in the discontented Armenian population of Turkey and Persia, a means by which their hold or pretensions on Asia Minor might be strengthened; and by degrees Muscovite influence began to be felt, not only in the election of the Patriarch, but in the interior administration and economy of the Armenian Church—which may, in the absence of any other kind of autonomy, be called the Armenian Government.

The protection of Russia was hailed with delight; and says the calm and impartial Haxthausen: "The Russian occupation of their country was regarded by them not as a conquest, but a deliverance. They are the only people in the countries south of the Caucasus

really faithful to the Czar; a fact too little regarded by Russian officials."

Notwithstanding the great benefits to the Armenians, consequent on the substitution of the Government of the Czar for that of either the Sultan or the Shah, in the provinces which they inhabit—the unnecessary, impertinent and overbearing interference of Russian officials with regard to education, as well as to internal government, causes them to contrast such meddlesomeness with the indifference of the Turks.

Of all subject Asiatic races, the Armenians are the most national; and as they love their language as well as their country, nothing is more detestable to their minds than a process of Russification, which they believe will eventually absorb them into a people for whom they have no other affection than such as a weak and timid man has for the policeman.

Mr. Bryce's opinions upon the subject tally so exactly with what I have myself heard from Armenian priests, peasants, and merchants in several different parts of Armenia, that I am

induced to quote a passage from his work, in which, with I think very even impartiality—he sums up in a manner equally lucid and natural. "Seeing," says he, "is like nothing else. Seeing with one's own eyes, and hearing people on the spot talk—people who are themselves so to speak, part of the problem—brings home to one certain facts and principles with a force and clearness which no amount of reading can give. Life and property," in the words of this accomplished and unprejudiced traveller, "are secure under the Government of the Czar. Antagonisms of race and religion are far less fierce than in Turkey, and Mahommedan races live contentedly under a Christian Government. When foreign armies enter Armenia, they are welcomed as deliverers by the subject population; and when they retreat, it is upon these unhappy subjects that the inhuman vengeance of the Turkish soldiery is wreaked. In Armenia at this moment (1877), a timid and inoffensive people, who have never meditated insurrection, who are not accused of anything more than sympathy with the invaders, are

being slaughtered by thousands in their blazing villages. I dare say the generals in command have not ordered or approved these massacres and torturings. That they are the spontaneous acts of irregular soldiers perpetrated on their own unarmed fellow-subjects, makes them even a more dreadful evidence of the condition of the Turkish Empire. Russia, although her Government is mainly military, does not neglect her duties to the people; and by creating security, has made it possible for foreign capital and enterprise to flow into the country. The laws are equal and mild for all subjects; and as there is no disaffection, I do not think," continues Mr. Bryce, "that there can be much oppression. In Turkey, the police are inefficient, the irregulars cannot be kept in order, the Koords systematically defy all authority, and indeed, although living within the bounds of the empire, have never been properly its subjects. No amount of supervision and reporting will ever get over this fatal defect of weakness. Annexation to Russia would of course be a boon to the Armenians, as com-

pared with their present position; but in itself not a good thing for either the annexed provinces or for Russia itself."

"At Echmiadzin," says the Patriarch Narses, "the centre of my Church, I conceived the idea of founding a great academy for all the Armenians scattered throughout the world, with a college for the higher kind of spiritual and secular education. This institution, I hoped, would found a bond of union. The number of students was to have been two thousand. All preliminaries were ready, the locality was determined, and the intellectual plans were designed. The Armenians are animated by an intense desire to advance their national culture, and are ready for any sacrifice to attain this end. Although but a poor monk, I am the head of that national Church which the Armenians prize above everything, and hence am richer than many kings. It only required a summons from me, for millions to be collected for such an object. I had even then received offers to an enormous amount, especially from India. I was able to assure

the Russian Government that I sought nothing more than its sanction: the funds I could myself provide, and the institutions of the school at Tiflis would show how readily I could obtain pecuniary means for larger enterprises. But intrigues and suspicion arose; the permission was refused, and I was sent into a kind of exile as Archbishop of Kischenau in Bessarabia.

"The efforts of my whole life had been devoted to the liberation of my people from the bodily and spiritual slavery under which they everywhere groan. The head-quarters of our Church appeared to me the most natural starting-point where, *owing to the conquest and protection of Russia, the chains of slavery have been already broken.*

"I am a native," continued he, "of Armenia, and have seen and heard much; and have often wondered at the accounts given by Europeans who have travelled there—who, without any complete knowledge, touch upon everything; who by their fictions astound some, while to others they convey a totally false impression."

All this agrees exactly with what I have heard, and with what Mr. Bryce has written. Certainly, the Bishop of Baibourt might ask why it is that the wise and sagacious English people read and write such absurd nonsense about Armenia and the Armenians in their honourable newspapers: and reviews, he might have added, if he had read a recent article in a celebrated periodical.

Nothing is more common than the errors of a traveller who takes an individual's opinion for the views on the same subject of the general public, or who accepts an isolated fact as an established custom. An English gentleman in Italy, perceiving from the window of his carriage, when he drew up the blind, a red-haired woman fighting in the street, wrote in his book that the population were very quarrelsome and all freckled.

Nowhere in the world do such blunders occur more frequently than in Turkey, where every European journeying for his amusement or instruction is looked upon as a news-monger, or muckbeer, as they call it; whose

notions it is considered both prudent and advisable to tamper with.

For this purpose, very ingeniously concocted impediments to his obtaining clear ideas concerning the mode of government, the administration of the provinces, the collection of the taxes, the condition of the Christian population, or whatever other subject may form the motive of his researches, are placed in his way; and it frequently happens that the most intelligent and fact-investigating philosophers are completely deceived by the very people whose interests would be, to all appearance, advanced if they told only the truth.

A certain Armenian was introduced by the Pasha to an English gentleman who was travelling through the country, with a view to obtaining such accurate information concerning the Christian subjects of the Porte inhabiting those little-known and little-thought-about provinces, as might enlighten people at home about affairs which they had just commenced, though in a very vague and confused manner, to perceive had some connection with their own welfare.

The Armenian in question answered the queries of his curious interlocutor, whether they were leading or not, or whether they were put to him either in public or in private, exactly as if the replies had been dictated by his so-called Excellency himself.

He was afraid to tell the truth. He was afraid that if he expressed the aspirations, the wishes, or the sympathies of the Armenian nation, it might be repeated to his masters; and, being a calculating person, he very naturally reflected that such a course would certainly not do the said Armenian nation the least good, while it would, on the contrary, be quite sure to do him a great deal of harm.

His evidence was therefore similar to the evidence of such people everywhere else, and, as he bore witness, he thought only of himself.

After a long acquaintance with this wily Armenian, who was a very intelligent man, and who, although never out of his native country, spoke the French lauguage with great fluency and emphasis—I discovered by degrees

that he *disliked* the Russians because he was an Armenian, and did not want to be Russified; but that he *hated* the Turks, because, although a man in every way superior to any Mussulman, from the Pasha downwards, in point of knowledge, accomplishments, and education, he felt the social contempt under which he existed, and it touched him to the quick and galled him.

If these disgusting disabilities were removed, and if the Armenians enjoyed the same social equality as they do in Russia, there can be little doubt that they would give neither encouragement, sympathy, nor support to Muscovite aggression.

A single fact will show the hopeless condition of the Armenians under the Turks, compared with the state of the same people under the Russians. "In 1828," said an Armenian to me, "the father of General Loris Melikof, living in a small village near Erzerum, left that neighbourhood; and, like thousands of the population of the same districts, fearing the revenge of the Turks for the joy and gladness with which

they hailed the conquering Paskievitch on his triumphal entry into the capital, settled in Russian territory.

"About fifty years afterwards, General Loris Melikof came back to Erzerum as the Commander in Chief of His Imperial Majesty's forces.

"If," said the Armenian who told me this story, "Melikof had remained in Turkey, how different would have been his lot; and is it therefore in any way probable that we should prefer the government under which we are degraded to the condition of despised and contemptible slaves, to the one under which we live on terms of complete equality with our rulers?"

I confessed that I thought it extremely unlikely that any sensible man could give the preference to the first; and he assured me that I was quite right.

On the direct road between Erzerum and Bayazid, I frequently stopped with a rich Armenian family, because—like Mr. Hamilton, secretary to the Geographical Society, who

travelled in these countries more than forty years ago—I "always preferred a Greek or Armenian house, in which we were less exposed to the inconvenient and sometimes impertinent curiosity of the host."

In one of my visits to this town, at a time when it appeared to superficial observers that the Russian invasion of Armenia had entirely failed, and that there was a much greater probability of the Ottomans besieging Alexandropol than of the Muscovites marching on Erzerum—a Turk, who had previously received me with demonstrations of politeness, absolutely refusing to let me in, recommended me to the house of a Ghiour as a more suitable resting-place for a good Christian man.

I accordingly claimed the hospitality of the Armenian, who, waiting on me himself, expressed with apparent sincerity the pleasure he felt at my visit.

In the course of conversation, he assured me that he, as well as all his fellow-countrymen in the town, hailed the repulse of the Russians with great glee.

The reasons that he gave for sentiments so hostile to people professing only to act for the emancipation of the Armenian nation, appeared certainly plausible enough; and are, in fact, all that can be urged, and there is much in them in favour of a continuance of Ottoman rule.

"We know the Turks," said he, "and under their administration we enjoy a self-government which leaves our language, the education of our children, and our national customs, so perfectly untrammelled and free from any official interference, that we have no wish to change it for the rule of a people who steadily endeavour, by means of carefully devised regulations affecting even our indoor family life, to absorb us altogether, to force their tongue on us, and in fact to alter us from Armenians into Russians.

"In fifty years the Muscovites have done more towards the moral annihilation of the Armenians, as a separate nation, than has been effected by the Turks in several centuries.

"For these reasons we have no sympathy with the Russians, and wish only to be left alone. Besides, we can trade with greater

freedom in Turkey than in Russia; so that many Turkish Armenians become exceeding rich, and enjoy a monoply of the commerce of the whole country.

"These are great advantages; and, notwithstanding some grievances against our masters, we do not want to swap them against certain extensions of liberty, which, although very plausible at first sight,—appear, on a closer examination, to be in no way compensated for by the several very troublesome and annoying Muscovite bureaucratic and centralising regulations to be weighed against them."

It is almost certain that a traveller in either Turkish or Persian Armenia, even if he spoke the Armenian language as well as Moses of Khorene, or Thomas of Medzop himself,—would hear expressions of opinion so exactly similar, that when he returned to Europe he would carry with him convictions about the feelings of the people, founded on evidence so indisputable, that nobody would be impertinent enough to question for a moment their perfect accuracy.

"If you honourable English folk," said the

Bishop of Baibourt, "really want to understand the kind of liberty and the amount of happiness we enjoy under the Turkish Government, why do you not send some of your countrymen, not to ride post through the country, not to stop with your Consuls in the large towns where our people are protected by the neighbourhood of Europeans; but to reside in some of our villages in different parts of Armenia for a few months?

"If you do so, we shall no longer laugh or cry at the truly absurd nonsense about us translated from your honourable newspapers into ours.

"Have you remarked the Armenians," continued he, "as you rode along the road? Had you never even heard of their existence before, would not their cringing manners and frightened looks cause you to notice a great difference between them and the haughty Osmanli or Koord, who, armed with knives and pistols, must ever feel a contempt for the poor defenceless Christian, no more capable of defending himself than an old woman?

"Must not unarmed people, living among warriors, be ever at their mercy?

"Would not these facts alone and in themselves cause an observant mind to make deductions more consonant with probability and reason than the mendacious accounts gathered either from Pashas, or from Armenians in their service and dependent upon them for bread?

"A cunning and sagacious traveller using his eyes alone, and without placing any dependence whatever on his ears,—might learn to suspect that after all the lot of a Christian in Asia Minor is such that people in England have but little idea of its social degradation.

"The warlike aspect and fine and independent manners of the martial Osmanli contrast so remarkably with the gentle and inoffensive air of the most unsoldierlike Armenian,—that those circumstances taken by themselves display two extremes of military pride and civilian subserviency."

Several visits to the Armenian whom I have mentioned in the preceding page, caused our acquaintance to ripen into confidence.

Considering me at length a person who might be trusted, and who would not go and repeat what he said to a Pasha, with a view to having his grievances redressed,—he told me exactly what I have always heard from every Armenian with whom I have been the least intimate.

"When I go to Tiflis or Erivan," said he, "I feel as I walk about the streets that I am a man; in this town, my native place, I am constantly addressed as a disbelieving dog.

"Such insults I am accustomed to. I dare not redress them, because here, were a Christian slave—for we are slaves and nothing else—were a Christian slave, then, I say, to assault what men hereabout call a true believer, he would either be beaten to a jelly, or perhaps slain outright.

"God grant that the Russians may come here; we should hail them as deliverers."

Naturally astonished at what appeared to me such a sudden change of sentiments in a man who only a very short time previously had expressed wishes so entirely opposed to the hopes to which he now gave vent with every ap-

pearance of sincerity and truth,—I asked him the reasons for this wonderful modification of ideas.

"I have not changed; but what I told you first," said he, "is what I thought would be most pleasing to your ears, because you English I know hate the Russians, but you love the Turks."

And indeed the affection of the English for the Turk is so incomprehensible to the ordinary Armenian, that a young peasant in the mountains above Ghumish Hana, once asked me if we too were not Mussulmans like the Osmanlis.

I happened to be in the town in which my Armenian friend lived, when it was taken by the Russians at the end of October, 1877; and no sooner had the Turks been driven out at the points of the Cossack lances,—than a wonderful and interesting change was operated in the social aspects of the place.

An acquaintance of mine, whom I had often met in my Armenian friend's house—the High-Priest of the town, in fact—and whose timidity

and shyness had always impressed me with feelings of pity, was suddenly promoted to the rank of a kind of civil governor.

It is the positions in which men are placed, rather than their natural dispositions and character, that causes the enormous differences to be observed between them.

The good priest, no longer adopting a mean or cringing attitude, nor walking, as he was in the habit of doing, very close to the wall for fear of being pushed out of the way by a swaggering Turk, strutted bravely, and with lofty paces, in the very middle of the street.

So far from saluting me as a brother in Christ, with the respect and humility which on previous occasions had invariably accompanied his civilities, he accosted me jauntily and with the air of Mister the Prefect on the Emperor's Feast, thinking, no doubt, that it was rather my place to salute him, than his to acknowledge me.

The impertinent and dignified old Turk who refused to let me in because I was a Ghiour, had quite lost the composure with which he was in the habit of insulting Christians; and such is

the bent of the Oriental mind, ever ready to accept cheerfully and without a murmur whatever cannot be avoided, nobody in the town bowed lower to the recently inflated ecclesiastic than he did.

It was now the turn of the priest to speak contemptuously of unbelievers; so going to his church, he got up on a very high place in order that everyone might hear him better, and forcing his voice into a savage roar, cried out, "Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered."

The whole Christian population of the town received the Russians with every demonstration of delight and joy; and, as there were many Armenian soldiers and officers in the regiments of occupation, their now happy countrymen and countrywomen crowding round, looked at them with honest pride, and no doubt sung songs of burthens somewhat similar to that of "See the conquering hero comes!"*

* What I saw on this occasion only confirms the testimony of the Patriarch Narses, of Mr. Bryce, of Baron Haxthausen, and of every impartial writer who knows anything about the subject of which he treats.

Many an old grudge was perhaps paid for in hard words; but the Turks were not ill-treated, and perfect order was preserved in the place.

It was impossible, however, to witness the Russian occupation without feeling and seeing beyond a shadow of doubt that the Armenians regarded it as a delivery from the thraldom of their tyrants, and blessed the day on which they marched in.

The whole population of Erzerum turned out with tears of joy to greet the soldiers of Paskievitch, in 1828. Women and girls, singing hymns and psalms, threw flowers in the way; and so ardent was the wish of its inhabitants to be delivered from Turkish bondage, that great crowds of Armenians, selling all they had at the vilest prices, followed the retreating Russians across the frontier, and settled under the protection of the Czar.

The arrival of the Muscovites in the same place at the end of the year 1877 was equally pleasant to the Armenian people, who, with a view to expressing their satisfaction and pleas-

ing the invading hordes—worked cheerfully, and like menial servants for the soldiers.

There was nevertheless an exception to this general jubilee; for although the orthodox or Gregorian Armenians are, as I believe I have shown, favourable to the Muscovites,—the Roman Catholic Armenians fear the supremacy of their heretical countrymen, or that of their protecting and sympathetic Russian friends.

They far prefer (at least, so I have always been told by their priests) the government of the Sultan to that of the Czar. The Pope has told them to hate the Russians more than the Turks, and they do so.

In a manner somewhat similar to that in which they claim a kind of protectorate over the Greek subjects of Turkey,—Russian influence has long been silently at work upon the conduct of the affairs of the Armenians; and no sooner had the power of the Czars been consolidated in their newly-acquired Caucasian provinces,—than their interference, threats, and expostulations protected, in a way, those unhappy and persecuted Christians against the tyranny

of both their Persian and Turkish masters.

More than a hundred years ago the Patriarch actually obtained the sanction of Russia previously to his elevation to the patriarchal throne; and in the beginning of this century a thoroughly Russified Armenian, one Prince Joseph Dolgorouki, became head of the Armenian Church.

Both Turkey and Persia, with that carelessness and apathy so remarkable in the action of Oriental governments,—quite abandoned their right to a voice in the appointment of candidates for these dignities; and so it came to pass that the Patriarchs have been entirely chosen by Russian action.

For this reason the people have been educated so as to look to Russia for support; and in 1828, when Paskievitch quietly took possession of Echmiadzin, *the focus and centre of Armenian opinion and nationality*,—Russian influence extended throughout the whole country.

The Armenians are capable of receiving the highest European civilisation; and if Russia,

instead of trying to drill them into mediocrity only suitable to their own peasants, would allow the free action of the national institutions,—the people would display such a knowledge for the management of their own affairs, as might in a few years astonish their numerous traducers.

Certain sentiments, such as a knowledge of right and wrong, for instance, are, it is said, innate in mankind, as a result of the original construction of the mental faculties. An additional sentiment or faculty is innate in the Russian official. It is called, for want of a better word, red-tape. This Russian red-tape can leave nothing alone. It has been even introduced into the Armenian Church: where the bishops, priests, and deacons are all obliged to write confidential reports on a variety of subjects to their superiors.

The parochial government of the Armenians, in consequence of the consecration of centuries, so dear to their hearts,—is changed by the Muscovites into a system of centralisation which must eventually absorb the nation.

The Government schools force the children to learn Russian, whether they like it or not; and it is the object of the St. Petersburg Government, in stamping out their language, to deal with the Armenians as they dealt with the Poles.

Those Armenians, who have been carefully educated in Russia with a view to being officials and officers in the service of the Government,—are so well drilled and disciplined for the duties required of them, that they become even more imbued with the red-tape system than the Russians themselves.

It is for these reasons that the people dislike the Muscovites; although for the sake of the security enjoyed under their rule,—they prefer them to the Turks. No man is so patriotic as to prefer his country to his own wife and children. Under the Turks the integrity of the nation is safe enough, but the family is in continual dread of being outraged.

If the English protectorate of Asia Minor gives the Armenians real liberty, protects their

persons and their property, and places those people on a perfect footing of equality with their Mussulman neighbours,—there can be no doubt that any further Russian intrigues among them would fall on very barren ground.

The Turkish Government, often keenly alive to what concerns their own interests,—look upon the thorough emancipation of the Armenians, notwithstanding their comparatively small numbers,—with feelings of great alarm.

Scattered throughout the whole of Turkey, the Armenians, whose energies till now have been entirely devoted to trading, higgling, and peddling,—have possession of a great part of the commerce of Asia Minor; and, like any people who have paid extreme attention to one particular subject,—they are unrivalled in the useful arts of cheating and lying.

Nowhere in the world will be found such exceedingly (to use an American expression) "smart" men, whose ideas of business consist in trying to make others buy experience at great prices.

"As the active powers of the human mind, when roused to vigorous exertion in one line,

are most capable of operating with force in other directions," it is almost certain that the Armenians, from enterprising merchants, thinking alone of the pursuit of gain, would, if a fair field was opened to them, turn their talents to good accounts as politicians.

Were the country once really freed from the oppression by which it has been weighed down for centuries, and were all its inhabitants, whether Christian, Jew, Turk, Devil-worshipper, Candle-extinguisher, or Gipsy, placed on a footing of perfect civil and religious equality,—many highly cultivated Armenians, living very far away, would bring back to their native land all the ingredients necessary for the thorough civilisation, good administration, and complete development of the vast resources of the country.

This is exactly what a far-seeing and enlightened Turk is afraid of; and consequently, it is a duty that he owes to posterity to prevent a movement which would take a large share, if not the whole government of the country,—out of its hands.

If in every community governed according to modern ideas, mind and culture must sooner or later come to the surface,—it is quite certain that the germ of the Minor Asiatic civilisation can only be effected through the Armenians.

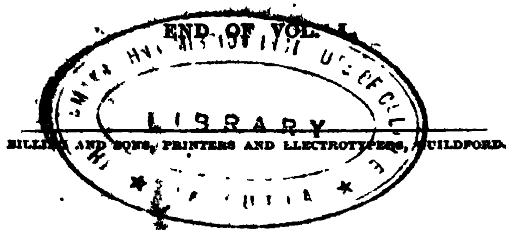
A smattering of French stamps the ordinary Pasha as a very enlightened man in the eyes of the pattern traveller; or rather of the pattern tourist, as the rapidity with which men push along nowadays causes a great difference between the two: but there is hardly a single Turk in Armenia who is what would be called an educated man in any European society.

The Turk wonders at our liberty, our customs, our institutions, our manners, and our curiosity in inquiring how the people in other countries get on; but he has not the least admiration for all these things; while he has such a thorough hatred and suspicion of every innovation,—that the most insignificant alteration in anything to which he has become quite accustomed, is regarded by him as the thin edge of a

wedge, preparatory to something a great deal worse.

Since the days of the Crusaders, Europeans have been the deadly enemies of the Turks; for in the times when they were religious, they endeavoured to force their creeds on them, in the same manner as at present, when religion and politics are entirely separated, they try their best to force their civilisation on them.

The Ottomans never wanted either one or the other; and although I have frequently heard Turks abuse their own absurd Government, and draw very unfavourable comparisons between it and that of the Russians, they are so afraid of the Christians, whose superiority to themselves in everything but brute force they are obliged to confess,—that it is one of the principal maxims of their policy to keep them down.



END OF VOL. I.

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